



ENGRAVED GEMS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY: 1.
ANCIENT MAGICAL AMULETS

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ENGRAVED GEMS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY: 1. ANCIENT MAGICAL AMULETS

(PLATES 34–40)

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The American Numismatic Society possesses 529 ancient engraved gems; it is our intention to publish them in a series of articles. The largest part of the collection, 303 gems, was deposited at the Society shortly after the death of Samuel Duffield Osborne in 1917. Osborne, born in Brooklyn in 1858, received a law degree from Columbia University in 1879. He practiced law and was assistant and then acting secretary of the Department of City Works in Brooklyn until 1894. He was a prolific writer, producing several historical novels with ancient settings and editing Livy's *Roman History* and Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* for Appleton's Library of the World's Great Books. In 1912 he published *Engraved Gems*.¹ This large volume provided a popular but authoritative history of gem engraving from the Minoan period to modern times, and was extensively illustrated with examples from various museums, from his own collection, and from the collections of his friends.

¹ The following titles are cited repeatedly by author's name only :

D. Osborne, *Engraved Gems* (New York, 1912).

C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, 1950).

A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964).

E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York, 1953–1968). Unless otherwise stated, the citation is to vol. 2. Illustrations are in vol. 3.

L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia, 1909).

E. A. W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. (London, 1904).

A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, eds., *Mythological Papyri: Texts* (New York, 1957).

The remaining 226 gems were left to the Society by E. T. Newell. They were only a part of his large collection of ancient engraved stones. Some of the Newell collection has been published previously by von der Osten² and by Bonner.

Engraved gems were collected avidly in antiquity; ancient stones were prized in the Middle Ages.³ At first an avocation of princes, popes and kings in the Renaissance, gem collecting became pandemic by the eighteenth century with the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum and the classical revival, and this resulted in the production of a large number of forgeries. Interest gradually waned during the nineteenth century, but, with some exceptions (notably King),⁴ collectors' tastes remained primarily classical.

We have chosen to publish first a group of gems from the late Roman period, known as Gnostic, Abraxas or Basilidian.⁵ In addition to the ANS stones we shall also publish a number of the same type from our private collection, which includes examples not represented at the ANS. Probably as a result of a general interest in astrology, alchemy and other occult sciences, these gems enjoyed an enormous vogue in the early years of the seventeenth century.⁶ With the classical revival they went out of fashion, and were still considered unimportant by Furtwängler, who had them moved from the Berlin Antiquarium to the Department of Egyptology. This attitude has considerably delayed publication of gems of this type; very few appeared in *Antiken Gemmen*, Walters, Marshall and Richter.⁷

² H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (Chicago, 1934), hereafter von der Osten.

³ J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York, 1953), pp. 54–56; G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans* (New York, 1968), pp. 20–21; M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 196–204.

⁴ C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains* (London, 1887).

⁵ See King (above, n. 4), pp. 215–302, 432–48.

⁶ W. Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1972); C. Bonner, "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum," *Hesperia* 1951, pp. 301–45 (this reference p. 314); A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (London, 1953), pp. 193–238.

⁷ A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1900); H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved*

Bonner published *Studies in Magical Amulets*, his magisterial work on magical gems, in 1950, using what he considered representative examples from many collections. A substantial number of those illustrated were then in Newell's private collection, and some of these are published again here. Bonner chose not to publish all examples available to him since this book was the work of his last years and he felt it was too difficult a task for him to produce a comprehensive catalogue of all ancient magical amulets. In addition, he wrote that full publication "would not be justified because the commonest types are repeated in many scores of specimens, often with the slightest of variation" (p. viii). Finally, reflecting the still prevailing taste for the classical, he believed that magical gems had little artistic value. He thus neglected a number of Newell's specimens and all of Osborne's collection, which were available to him (p. xi). With the important exception of Delatte and Derchain's publication of the complete collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Louvre, no major museum collection has been published despite ever-increasing interest in Graeco-Roman magic and gnosticism.⁸

Magical gems were only one form in which an intense upsurge of irrationality was expressed in late antiquity. Unlike magical papyri and magical writings on ceramics and metals (primarily lead and silver), which had already enjoyed a long tradition, gems with recognizably magical engraving began to appear in the first and second centuries A.D. in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and were carried throughout the

Gems and Camsos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum (London, 1926); F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (Oxford, 1907); G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman* (Rome, 1956).

⁸ See, for example, Goodenough; E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge, 1965); M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); J. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (London, 1974); *Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J. M. Robinson (New York, 1978); M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco, 1978).

There have been several critical reviews of Delatte and Derchain; among them, H. Seyrig in *Syria* 1965, pp. 409–12; M. Smith in *AJA* 1967, pp. 417–19; and A. A. Barb in *Gnomon* 1969, pp. 298–307, should be consulted for corrections of Delatte and Derchain's numerous errors and for important new information on magical amulets.

empire.⁹ They were not obviously derived from the amulets commonly found in mummy wrappings, which are essentially small statues, but arose instead from the Graeco-Roman signet, which in turn was indirectly derived from the Egyptian scarab stone. As a class they are characterized by a common iconography largely derived from a solarized Egyptian pantheon with inscriptions almost always in Greek to be read directly rather than in the impression. Even though they are written in Greek letters, words are often transliterations of Hebrew and Aramaic names of God and angels. Newly invented names, sometimes formed by the technique of gematria, which was later to be used extensively by the Cabalists, also appear throughout gnostic writings. Persian influences have also been detected (Bonner, chap. 2).

Although we cannot be certain, Goodenough was probably correct in maintaining that many of these gems are Jewish (Goodenough, pp. 153–295; vol. 12, pp. 50–63). Ancient authors refer to Jewish magicians.¹⁰ Accusations of sorcery were never meant to be complimentary; therefore it is difficult to assess the accuracy of the charge because of the hostility against the Jews which became prominent within the Empire during the first century.¹¹ Moreover, no group of people freely admits to the practice of magic. Nevertheless, it is likely that the Jews were important in the production of these gems. Jews formed a social and cultural continuum linking Persia, Palestine, and Egypt, and Jews were a predominant artisan class in the geographical areas where the gems were produced.

There are many references to amulets and amulet-making in the Talmud.¹² In addition, much of this magical tradition survived in the

⁹ Henig (above, n. 3); G. Sena Chiesa, *Gemme del Museo Nazionale di Aquileia* (Aquileia 1966), hereafter *Aquileia*; G. Sena Chiesa, *Gemme di Luni* (Rome, 1978); A. Hamburger, "Gems from Caesarea Maritima," *'Atiqot* 1968, pp. 1–37.

¹⁰ See, for example, Pliny, *HN* 30.11; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 85.3; M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964).

¹¹ M. Stern, "The Jews in Greek and Latin Literature," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, 2, eds. S. Safrai and M. Stern (Assen, 1976), pp. 1101–59.

¹² Summarized by T. Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets* (London, 1966), pp. 12–19. Talmudic references are listed by Hull (above, n. 8), p. 151, n. 42. See also *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1905), s.v. "Magic" (Blau).

Cabala and in later Jewish magical practice.¹³ It is also not surprising that the iconography of the gems is not specifically Jewish, since one of Goodenough's least debatable conclusions is that the Jews of the Graeco-Roman period borrowed most of the images which they used from other peoples.

The majority of these amulets were apotropaic in intent, and therefore might have escaped rabbinic condemnation. They are engraved with spells to protect the bearer, some from all forms of evil, and others from misfortune wrought by particular demonic forces. Bonner (pp. 51–94) recognized that many of the gems were used to avert specific medical conditions—diseases of the stomach and eyes, gynecological disorders, colic and sciatica. In certain respects, the gem stone itself can be considered the pharmacological vehicle for administering a spell.¹⁴ In particular instances (see catalogue numbers 13–15 and 57) engraved stones of a specified type are ingredients in magical procedures which have survived in papyri or in other literary forms. Because of this pharmacological aspect, the character of the stone on which a particular type was cut does not usually vary. Thus the anguipede is almost always engraved on a dark stone; Chnoubis on translucent, greenish and milky stones; the lizard on a mottled stone; and Solomon the cavalier and the reaper on black stones. This specific use of particular stones is in accord with Pliny's attribution of medical powers to various gems (*HN* 36 and 37).

Even though there is evidence that some of the types were described in specific magical procedures, it is unlikely that the majority of these amulets were used in so elaborate a manner. Once established as protective or helpful in a particular situation, amulets could have been produced in large numbers without the necessity for the actual presence of a magician. It is possible that most of these amulets were self-ad-

¹³ G. S. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1965); J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York, 1939).

¹⁴ F. Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique*, 1 (Paris, 1925), pp. 66–68, provides an insightful discussion of various vehicles for the administration of magical spells. An example from Pharaonic Egypt of a spell engraved on stone is the common heart scarab bearing a portion of the Book of the Dead (*The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, trans. T. G. Allen [Chicago, 1974], p. 40).

ministered, like modern patent medicines. It is difficult to believe that many men wishing to be lucky in love would not routinely wear a ring engraved with Harpocrates sitting on a lotus and inscribed *Ἀβρασαχ*, although they might well neglect to follow all the other procedures recommended in the bilingual papyrus in the British Museum.¹⁵ Degradation of some of the types might be explained by serial copying without reference to the original detailed magical procedure.

CATALOGUE

In the catalogue which follows, gems formerly in the Newell collection are designated ETN. A Bonner number indicates that the gem was published under that number in *Studies in Magical Amulets*. A gem noted as ANS is part of the Osborne accession. An Osborne number refers to the plate in *Engraved Gems* on which that gem appears. The gems in our private collection are noted as Schwartz.

Each entry in the catalogue is followed by a list of gems in other collections. Although many examples exist of a given type, these particular gems are cited because they are most similar in some important feature to the gem in this collection.

The gems were photographed directly, with the exceptions of nos. 29 and 33 which are illustrated with photographs of casts. All the gems, including nos. 29 and 33, are shown as the observer would see them. Their dimensions can be determined from the plates, since they are shown actual size.

The larger side of a gem is designated *a*, the smaller *b*. When the *a* side alone is described the *b* side is not engraved. Gems with unusual shapes are described specifically.

When an inscription occupies more than one line the divisions between lines are indicated by virgules (/). Even though words are often run together on the gems, we have separated them to make their sense more apparent.

¹⁵ H. I. Bell, A. D. Nock, and H. Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 17 (London, 1931), pp. 235–87; this reference, pp. 252, 255.

1. SOLAR POWERS

A. *The Anguipede*

The cock-headed, snake-legged figure, dressed in Roman military costume of the third to fourth century (Delatte and Derchain, p. 23) and holding the whip of Helios in one hand and a shield (often inscribed ΙΑΩ) in the other, is an image which occurs with great frequency on these amulets. Strictly speaking, it is not represented elsewhere. It is clearly a composite. Its separate elements are familiar, and their histories have been used in a number of recent attempts to interpret the origin and meaning of the figure.¹⁶

The classification of this entire group of amulets as "Abraxas" gems, still used by some museums, results from a nineteenth century idea that the figure is a representation of Abraxas, a common misspelling of *Abrasax*, a magical name which frequently appears with the anguipede¹⁷ as well as in magical papyri and gnostic texts.¹⁸ *Abrasax* is an isopsephic term for 365, the annual period of the sun and the total number of aeons in the gnostic system of Basilides; *Abrasax* was the ruler of all the Basilidean heavens. By similar reasoning, since the name ΙΑΩ also appears in association with the anguipede with great frequency, the figure was thought to represent Iao, a magical power who is also invoked in the papyri, incantation bowls and gnostic texts, and who can ultimately be identified with Yahweh, the God of the Jews (Bonner, p. 126; Goodenough, pp. 251–52). Bonner cautions that the anguipede can appear without being labeled either *Abrasax* or ΙΑΩ, and therefore these may not identify the demon but merely be names used as apotropaic devices (pp. 134–35).

¹⁶ Bonner, chap. 9; M. P. Nilsson, "The Anguipede of the Magical Amulets," *Harvard Theological Review* 44 (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 61–64; Goodenough, pp. 245–58; A. A. Barb, "Abraxas-Studien," in *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna*, Collection Latomus 28 (Brussels, 1957), pp. 76–80.

¹⁷ King (above, n. 4), pp. 226–65.

¹⁸ *Nag Hammadi* (above, n. 8), p. 478, s.v. "Abraxas." On two gems in the British Museum the name is spelled Abraxas (ABPAZAC on no. G315 and ABPAΞAC on no. G375). Hereafter British Museum gems will be designated as BM. The numbers are those in the typescript catalogue of Betty Burn (1935). A catalogue by Morton Smith is in preparation.

Each of the three iconographic regions of the anguipede can be explained, but their presence together in one figure seems absurd. The least difficult iconographic element is the military costume. In all media (for example, terracotta, bronze, gold, and stone) there are numerous examples from Egypt and Syria of various Egyptian and oriental gods dressed as the Roman emperor. In addition to the sovereign status indicated, the image so dressed is properly outfitted for effective contest against evil.

In the early Empire, use of the round shield (clipeus) had diminished, being restricted to select units of the Roman infantry.¹⁹ In coinage of the later Empire, clipei continue to appear on trophies, and to be carried by Mars, Victory, Roma, and Minerva, whose manner of holding the shield most resembles that of the anguipede.²⁰ As often occurs on gems with the anguipede, shields carried by soldiers were inscribed with talismans.²¹ A particularly apposite literary example is the description of the shields of the four towers in the army of the Sons of Light: on each is written the name of an archangel.²²

No Egyptian deity was represented as a chicken. The domestic fowl was introduced into the Mediterranean world comparatively late. Bonner (pp. 125–26) calls attention to the Persian reverence for the rooster's matutinal activity, a reverence which was presumably carried into the Hellenistic world by the Jews during the Persian period, and preserved in a variety of writings. "Great among singers of praise [of the Lord] are the birds, and greatest among them is the cock."²³ The importance of animals which herald the rising sun is echoed elsewhere in this series of amulets (see below: Harpocrates), and possibly derives in part from the idea that "demons, as the corresponding beings

¹⁹ Josephus, *BJ* 3.95; Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 121–23, 181.

²⁰ See, for example, Plate 34 A (*BMCRE* 2, Domitian 103).

²¹ Yadin (above, n. 19), p. 119.

²² Yadin (above, n. 19), pp. 187–88, 302.

²³ Ginzberg, vol. 1, p. 44; see also R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford, 1913), vol. 2: 3 Baruch 7, n. 194; Talmudic commentary on Job 38:36, in *The Anchor Bible: Job*, trans. M. H. Pope (New York, 1965), p. 255, n. 36.

among Arabs [jinns] and Assyrians, carried on their work in the night. The moment the cock crew their work was gone.”²⁴

Despite the Agathodaemon and the solar snake (Goodenough, pp. 247–48), which are relevant to Chnoubis, it seems likely that any creature with *two snakes rampant* as legs signified the Hellenistic representation of a giant to the ancient mind. Giants, like chickens, were apparently introduced quite late into the Mediterranean world from the orient. Rose²⁵ cites analogies between the Greek gigantomachies and various oriental myths of conflicts between gods and monsters, a pertinent example of which would be the battle between the serpent Apep, a personification of the darkest hour of the night, and the sun god Ra, who must triumph over him nightly in order to rise again in the morning.²⁶ The Greek myth which seems most pertinent to the anguipede is that of the largest giant, Typhon, who chased the Olympians to Egypt where they hid in the form of animals (Ovid, *Met.* 5.321). Typhon was the Greek name for Set, the brother and enemy of Osiris.

Bonner summarizes his discussion of the significance of the anguipede with the idea that “the triune monstrosity . . . is less likely to have arisen through a natural spontaneous syncretism than to have been imagined, or deliberately invented, by a single teacher or a compact school of theosophists, whom some may prefer to call Hellenized magi or pagan ‘gnostics’” (p. 135). Nilsson suggests that the anguipede is (proceeding from head to feet) the “omnipotent cosmic God, Lord of the Sun, the Light, the Heaven, of Human Life, and of the Underworld, comprising the entire Universe of popular belief.”²⁷ Barb synthesizes the disparate iconographic components in a novel fashion by suggesting that the figure of the anguipede is a kind of ideogram which represents some Jewish speculation on the nature of Adam.²⁸ The First Man was sometimes represented as a warrior and sometimes as a worm. It is possible, too, that there was a pun in the Hebrew of this period on the words *giant*, *soldier* and *rooster*.

²⁴ T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and Their Neighbors* (London, 1898; repr. New York, 1969), p. 112.

²⁵ H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, 1953), p. 57.

²⁶ See, for example, Budge, 1, pp. 324–27.

²⁷ Nilsson (above, n. 16), p. 64.

²⁸ Barb (above, n. 16).

In accord with Barb's idea that the figure represents a pun in Hebrew, we suggest that the anguipede denotes the archangel Gabriel (גבריאל) whose name is properly translated "God is mighty," "Man of God," or "Hero of God," but which could be read as "Rooster (גבר) of God." Gabriel is closely associated with Yahweh; the anguipede is almost invariably associated with the name Iao. In addition, Gabriel is the angel of war (Origen, *De princ.* 1.8.1), which would explain the anguipede's shield and military dress. Enoch 20:8 says that Gabriel is set over the serpents. The whip, a solar attribute, might be a syncretistic reminder that Gabriel is the herald of light and, sometimes, the angel of fire (Ginzberg, vol. 5, p. 70).

A possible survival of the anguipede is the trio of bird-headed figures Sanvei, Sansenvei and Semangelof, the three protective angels depicted in the Book of Raziel published in Amsterdam in 1701.²⁹

For gems of this type, see Bonner 162–78; Delatte and Derchain 1–34; Kassel³⁰ 127–37; Goodenough 1078–1109.

1. ANS/ETN (Bonner 162)

a: Creature with cock's head, human torso and arms, snakes for legs. Chest is bare; figure wears military kilt. In r. hand, whip, its lash extended over the head. On l. arm, round shield. Each snake leg has one coil. Around, I A Ω.


b: A/BPA/CA Ξ.

Dark green and red jasper.

Bonner 163, 167. Delatte and Derchain 8, 13, 15, 16, 28.

2. ANS/ETN

a: Cock-headed anguipede wearing military kilt and cuirass, with whiplash hanging down (its most usual position), and shield shown

from side. Snake legs have no coils. On shield:  (= ו ?)

Beneath,  (= OHHΩ?)

²⁹ See E. A. W. Budge, *Amulets and Talismans* (Oxford, 1930), p. 225.


³⁰ V. Scherf, P. Gercke and P. Zazoff, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. 3: *Braunschweig, Göttingen, Kassel* (Wiesbaden, 1970), hereafter referred to by city.

b: IAH / IEH / IOV / ΩHI / HΩ.

Dark brown jasper.

Bonner 170. Delatte and Derchain 35, 511.

3. ANS/Osborne (pl. 29, 20)

a: Cock-headed anguipede wearing cuirass and military kilt, holding spear pointing downward in r. hand. No inscription on shield. Snake legs have no coils. Beneath r. arm, < ; beneath shield,  ; beneath legs, IAW.

b: Harpocrates seated r. on lotus with two buds, holding whip in r. hand; l. hand points to nose.

Dark green and red jasper.

It is unusual for the anguipede to hold anything other than a whip in its r. hand. But see Delatte and Derchain 31 (sword) and Kassel 133 (vertical staff). On BM G54 the anguipede holds a torch.

Harpocrates should be shown with his finger to his mouth, not to his nose. Perhaps this is merely an engraver's error. It is uncertain why Harpocrates was originally portrayed with his finger in or near his mouth; taken together with the scalplock, this attitude might simply have indicated his youth. In the Graeco-Roman period, however, it certainly connoted secrecy and mystery (Plutarch, *De Iside* 68.1378C; Pliny, *HN* 33.3).

For these two subjects occurring on the same gem, see Delatte and Derchain 134; Goodenough 1100, 1101; Bonner, "Miscellany"³¹ no. 39 (on this gem Harpocrates also points to his nose); BM G153.

4. ANS/ETN (Bonner 175)

a: Cock-headed anguipede wearing military kilt, chlamys hanging from r. shoulder, holding whip and shield. Snake legs have no coils. Below, ithyphallic cynocephalus ape l., orant, solar disc on its head. To its l. and r., scarabs. Beneath, IΛO (= IAO). Around, IAWNOV BAΞAONOV KOΓ AΩIAIAΩV ΦONBAN.

b: 

Dark green and red jasper.

For cynocephalus ape, see Bonner 244–48, Delatte and Derchain 198–200.

³¹ G. Bonner, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 1954, pp. 138–57.

5. Schwartz

a: Cock-headed anguipede holding whip and small shield of peculiar shape (misunderstanding by engraver?). Each snake leg has one coil. In field: above head, ▲; to right of head, ☒; to left of hips, E; to right of hips, ■; beneath legs, ΙΑΩ.

b: Horizontally, ▲ ☒ E ■, the same four magical signs as on side

a. Beneath these, ΙΑΩ.

Dark green jasper with red spots.

For similar magical signs, see Bonner 72, 388. A green jasper gem in the Spencer George Perceval Bequest (1922) at the Fitzwilliam Museum (no. 328 in B. K. Burn's typescript catalogue [1928]) shows the anguipede holding a shield with this shape; similar magical signs also appear in the field. This unusual shield appears on a gem excavated at Marion in 1960. It is illustrated on pl. 33, no. 2, of A. Pierides, *Jewellery in the Cyprus Museum* (Nicosia, 1971), inv. no. 1960/XI-28/1.

6. Schwartz

a: Cock-headed anguipede wearing military kilt, holding whip and shield. Snake legs have no coils. Border of dots.

Lead, with loop.

Goodenough 1081.

B. Variants

7. ANS/ETN (Bonner 187)

a: Bird-headed man walking r. on ground line, holding wreath in r. hand, tall scepter with crescent-shaped top in l.; at l., eagle with outstretched wings.

b: []AMMAXPIE (continued on bevel) PPEV / ΔΙΑΝΤΩΘ
(Thoth?)

Brown jasper.

Bonner 262, 264, 266. Delatte and Derchain 305. Bonner (above, n. 6), no. 12. Gramatopol³² 373.

³² M. Gramatopol, *Les Pierres gravées du Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine*, Collection Latomus 138 (Brussels, 1974).

8. ANS/ETN (Bonner 181)

a: Anguipede with lion's head (modified in form from cock's head) wearing headdress³³ and kilted tunic, holding whip with upflung lash in r. hand, orb in l. In fields, I A Ω.

b: ΛEO/NTO/PHK/TA (render of lions).

Haematite.

Delatte and Derchain 35. The lion-headed anguipede is intermediate between the cock-headed anguipede and the lion-headed man who carries whip and orb (no. 9).

9. ANS/ETN (Bonner 235)

a: Lion-headed man standing facing, head l., wearing kilt. Around head, nimbus with seven triangular rays. Whip in r. hand, orb in l.

b: ΖΕΘ Α<Φ>ΟΒΕΤΩΡ / ΘΡΟ[ΥΕ] ΜΕ Ω ΜΙ/ΘΡΟ ΡΟΜΦΑΩΧΙ / ΙΛΕΩC ΚΕ Θ Η Ε/ΜΗ ΨΥΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ / ΕΜΩ ΒΙΩ. (Zeth [Set? or Seth?] who makes fearless, nourish me, O Mithro, spearholder; be gracious, Lord, to me and my life.) Bonner (p. 185) renders "my goods" for "my life," a possible but unlikely translation. Quartz (rock crystal).

Delatte and Derchain 302. Goodenough 1111. BM G502.

C. *Lion*

The lion on these amulets is a solar symbol.³⁴ This characteristic is emphasized by the frequent presence in the upper field of a star and a crescent moon. In Egyptian mythology, lions guard the gates of morning and evening through which the sun god must pass.³⁵

Each of the seven celestial bodies which the ancients called planets had a specific relationship with the 12 signs of the Zodiac. Each planet, except for the sun and the moon, dwelt in two houses, one during the day and the other at night. The sun, however, needed a mansion only

³³ Perhaps a clump of papyrus; see A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 2nd ed. (London, 1950), p. 481.

³⁴ Bonner, pp. 36, 50, 150; Delatte and Derchain, pp. 221–2. See also Goodenough, vol. 13, s.v. "lion."

³⁵ Budge, vol. 2, pp. 360–61; and see Piankoff and Rambova, pp. 29–65.

during the day: this was the Lion, a summer constellation. According to Macrobius (*Sat.* 21.16) the Lion is called the House of the Sun because a lion seems to derive its qualities from the properties of the sun.

In addition to several other religious symbols of the east,³⁶ a striding solar lion appears on the coinage of Caracalla's last two years. It is shown holding a thunderbolt in its jaws.³⁷ Similar lions occur on Alexandrian coinage of the second century.³⁸

The lion-headed anguipede (no. 8) and the lion-headed man (no. 9) bring together the solar characteristics of the standard anguipede and the more conventional iconography of Ra-Harakhte of Leontopolis, who is specifically invoked on a stone in the Brooklyn Museum³⁹ which is similar to our no. 9. The association of lion, sun and Horus is made explicit in a passage from Horapollo: ⁴⁰ "[The lion] has fiery eyes, and its forehead is spherical, and its mane radiates from about it in imitation of the sun. Wherefore they place lions under the throne of Horus, showing the symbol of the beast beside the god. And the sun is Horus because he rules over the hours (*ωρων*)."

Scholem⁴¹ proposed that the lion-headed figure represents Ariel, whose name can be translated as "Lion of God" or "Light of God." Ariel has been taken to be identical with the archangel Uriel (Ginzberg, vol. 6, p. 57). Scholem's idea led to our suggestion (see p. 158 above) that the anguipede represents Gabriel, "Rooster of God." Synthesis of Ra, Horus, the archangels and Yahweh (Iao) would produce a powerful image for dispelling any magic directed against the bearer, and this seems to be the principal function of the group of amulets in sections A, B and C.

10. ANS/Osborne (pl. 29, 11)

a: Lion l., object between forepaws. Above, star; beneath, crescent.

b: ΙΑΩ, palm branch above.

Dark green jasper.

³⁶ *BMCRE* 5, pp. ccvi-vii.

³⁷ See Plate 34 B (*BMCRE* 5, Caracalla 150).

³⁸ Dattari, nos. 3130, 3595, 3963.

³⁹ K. Herbert, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1972), no. 24. This is the same gem as Bonner 283.

⁴⁰ *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, trans. G. Boas (New York, 1950), p. 70.

⁴¹ Scholem (above, n. 13), p. 95.

Bonner 73–75. Göttingen 613. Kassel 155. Berlin⁴² 552. Gramatopol 382–387.

Side *b*: Bonner 160 reverse.

The object between the forepaws of the lion is often the head of its prey.

11. ANS/ETN

a: Lion r. on ground line, star above.

b: ΙΑΩ.

Metal (alloy?).

12. ANS

a: Lion l. on ground line, star and crescent above.

Red jasper.

D. Chnoubis

Hybrids having gods' heads and snakes' bodies are familiar in Egypt. Representations of the Agathodaemon with the head of Sarapis or Isis are common in the Roman period. An unidentified lion-headed (but winged) snake appears in a mythological papyrus, and cobras with lion heads are frequently seen in friezes in royal tombs (Piankoff and Rambova, p. 129).

There is general agreement that the figure of Chnoubis derives from one of the 36 decans.⁴³ The name appears on several late Greek and Latin decanal lists, but not always in the same position. These lists correspond to some degree with earlier lists inscribed on Egyptian monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, among which there are some variations.⁴⁴

⁴² E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen*, 2: *Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, Berlin* (Munich, 1969).

⁴³ W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, 2 (Leipzig, 1897–1909), s.v. "Knouphis" (Drexler), pp. 1250–64.; Bonner, pp. 25, 54–55; Delatte and Derchain, pp. 54–7.

⁴⁴ O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 5–6. For a catalogue of monuments pertaining to the decans, see O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts 3. Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*, 2 vols. (Providence/London, 1969). Earlier literature is cited by Bonner, Delatte and Derchain. See also A.-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 3 (Paris, 1954), pp. xxxviii–lxi; C. C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 57–59; Budge, 2, pp. 304–10.

By the 10th dynasty the Egyptians divided the ecliptic into 36 sections for the reckoning of time.⁴⁵ The decanal system had ceased to be useful by the twelfth century B.C., but persisted in funerary art and astrology. The zodiacal system, which originated in Mesopotamia, absorbed the decans, and by the Hellenistic period each sign of the Zodiac was divided into three periods of 10 degrees. For example, in Haephestion's list (fourth century A.D.) *χρονμικ* is the third decan in Cancer, corresponding to the Egyptian *Knmt* at Edfu, and *χαρχρονμικ* is the first decan in Leo, corresponding to *hry hpd knmt*.⁴⁶ Chnoubis seems to have acquired some of the attributes of the ram-headed god of the first cataract, Khnum, who was the creator of gods and men. He made the first egg (see no. 18) from which sprang the sun (Budge, vol. 2, p. 50).

One group of decanal lists, from which the name of Chnoubis is absent, also does not correspond in any way to the Egyptian originals. These lists appear in the various manuscripts of the Testament of Solomon and are formed for the most part from Hebrew or pseudo-Hebrew words.⁴⁷ They all share the contention attributed by Celsus to the Egyptians that each decan rules diseases of a certain part of the body (Origen, *Contra Celsus* 8.58). With Chnoubis, we have sound literary evidence that the amulets were to be used specifically for disorders of the upper abdomen (Bonner, pp. 54–55). Galen, who describes the testimony of others that a green stone engraved with a radiate serpent and worn as an amulet will benefit the stomach and esophagus, reports that he has found unengraved green stones equally effective (*De Simpl.* 10.19). Bonner remarks that digestive disorders were common in antiquity because of overeating (p. 51), and Goodenough retorts that, on the contrary, poor sanitation and diet were the common conditions, and were more likely to have resulted in dysentery and malnutrition (p. 263, n. 398).

Bad public health versus gluttony is probably not the issue, however, since, for the ancient Egyptians, disorders of the stomach included a

⁴⁵ O. Neugebauer, "The Egyptian 'Decans'," in A. Beer, ed., *Vistas in Astronomy* 1 (London, 1955), pp. 47–51.

⁴⁶ Neugebauer and van Hoesen (above, n. 44), table 4. See also Neugebauer and Parker (above, n. 44), text vol., pp. 105–74.


⁴⁷ McCown (above, n. 44), chap. 8.

wide variety of serious diseases. In the Papyrus Ebers the translator has identified viral hepatitis, lung abscess, angina pectoris, common cold, malarial fever, bubonic plague, gastric hemorrhage, tuberculous spondylitis, appendicitis, splenomegaly due to the intestinal worm *Ankylostomum duodenale*, terminal stomach cancer and intestinal obstruction, all as diseases of the stomach.⁴⁸ A similar variety of diseases were also included in stomach trouble by Jews of the Roman period. In the Talmud, the Hebrew word for heart is frequently used to designate the stomach, recalling the term *καρδια* among the Greeks. In accord with this anatomical confusion, Chnoubis amulets are often heart-shaped (Bonner 80–83).

For gems of this type, see Bonner 81–98; Delatte and Derchain 52–86; Kassel 162–171.

13. ANS/ETN (Bonner 90)

a: The lion-headed serpent Chnoubis to l., tail in single coil, 12 linear rays around head.

b:  (Chnoubis-sign) / XNOYBIC. The large B is recut over a smaller M.

Light brown, cream and black granite (Bonner says burnt prase[?]).

14. ANS/ETN

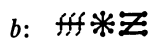
a: Lion-headed serpent to left, tail in one coil with long protruding end; six linear rays around head.

b: XNOVMIC around .

Pale greenish-brown agate.

15. Schwartz

a: Lion-headed serpent to l., tail in two coils; seven linear rays around head.

b:  / COPOOP / ΜΕΡΓΑΡ / ΦΡΙΟΥΡΙΓΞ.

Gray and white steatite (soapstone).

See Bonner 86 reverse and 99 reverse, and Delatte and Derchain 75, 76, 81, 306, 346, 349 for inscription.



⁴⁸ *The Papyrus Ebers*, trans. B. Ebbell (Copenhagen, 1937), pp. 47–56, 64.

16. Schwartz

Pentagonal bead, perforated vertically. On the five sides: Chnoubis; upright crocodile (?) with human legs; Anubis (?); $\text{IA}\omega$; orant or diagrammatic representation of Harpocrates on lotus.⁴⁹
Black steatite (soapstone).

Bonner 358, 359. Goodenough 1089, 1179, 1181. Von der Osten 543, 547.

17. ANS

Four-sided bead. On the four sides: ; Z; orant, with $\text{I A } [\omega]$ (the ω damaged) down left side and H A H up right side; .
Black serpentine, perforated vertically.

18. ANS

a: Egg surrounded by $\Theta\omega\text{BAPPABAY}$.

b: .

Gray-brown agate.

Delatte and Derchain 484. Bonner, p. 132, n. 48: this inscription is found in three different contexts, once with a composite god (see Section 2. G. below). Delatte and Derchain 169: this inscription is found on the reverse of a gem showing a composite god.

2. EGYPTIAN GODS

The worship of Osiris as the great god of the dead, so prominent in Pharaonic Egypt, in the Roman period had become only a minor component of religious life. This is indicated by terracottas, small bronzes and coins, which largely represent Osiris's sister-wife, Isis, and their son Harpocrates. When Osiris appears as a mummy he represents resurrection. On no. 20 the mummy is shown facing a butterfly, which, in the Mediterranean world since Mycenaean times, symbolized the soul.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Morton Smith has identified the upright crocodile and the representation of Harpocrates by comparison with gems in the British Museum.

⁵⁰ M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd ed. (Lund, 1950), pp. 45–50; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains* (Paris, 1942), s.v. "papillon;" Furtwängler (above, n. 7), vol. 1, pl. 45, 48; and vol. 2, p. 220.

After the Ptolemaic period Osiris was worshipped increasingly in the form of Sarapis, a condensation of Osiris and Apis (Budge, vol. 2, pp. 195–201). The cult of Sarapis has generally been thought to have been a synthetic product devised by Ptolemy I Soter as politically suitable for both his Greek and Egyptian subjects. This idea has been questioned recently.⁵¹ Whatever his origin, Sarapis was revered throughout the Empire during the Roman period. His specific attributes are displayed on no. 22: he is a bearded, Zeus-like and regal figure, wearing the modius crown on his head; at his feet sits Cerberus, the three-headed guardian of the Greek underworld. When the modius is replaced by the polos crown, the figure is identified as Hades. Similar portrayals are common on gems and coins and in terracotta.⁵² We have classified this gem as an amulet, as did Bonner, because the figure is encircled by the ouroboros, which is the symbol of the universe, of eternity, and of recurring time. The meaning of the association seems obvious: Sarapis is Lord of the Universe.⁵³

Innumerable monuments attest to the importance of Isis and her infant son Harpocrates (Horus) during the Roman period.⁵⁴ The engraving on no. 24 is reminiscent of several second century coins from Alexandria (e.g., Dattari 1751 [Hadrian]; see Plate 36, D). Coupled with the figure of the dwarf god Bes (on the reverse), who was regarded as protector of newborn children (Budge, vol. 2, p. 285), the image of the nursing goddess probably served to protect infants. The hole in the stone suggests that it was suspended over the cradle or from the neck.

⁵¹ P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1 (Oxford, 1972), pp. 246–76; S. K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 2–6.

⁵² See Plate 35, C, Dattari 1832 (Hadrian); also *BMCRE* 5, Caracalla 96. E. Breccia, *Terrecotte Figurate Greche e Greco-Egizie del Museo di Alessandria* (Bergamo, 1934), pl. 41, 199–201; M. Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque ny Carlsberg: La Collection Égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), pl. 26, A202.

⁵³ See *Horapollo* (above, n. 40), I, 59, pp. 83–84: “To show a very powerful king, they draw a serpent represented as the cosmos, with its tail in its mouth and the name of the king written in the middle of the coils, thus intimating that the king rules over the cosmos.” For Hades-Sarapis as prince of demons, see H. Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy* (Cairo, 1956), p. 279–309.

⁵⁴ R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1971); Heyob (above, n. 51).

Harpocrates seated on a lotus is identified with the rising sun (Plutarch, *De Iside* 11.355). According to ancient cosmological myth, the sun first emerged from the calyx of a lotus.⁵⁵ On no. 25 the ape is shown in adoration of the rising sun. Strikingly similar figures appear in a mythological papyrus of the 21st dynasty (Piankoff and Rambova, Scene 3, p. 73 and pl. 1) along with the inscription "adoration of Re-Horus of the Horizon." Like the rooster, the ape announces the dawn by his chattering.

The triads of animals seen on no. 26 and many other similar stones can be taken as apotropaic, since they so often include snakes, scorpions and other dangerous creatures (Delatte and Derchain, p. 108). But they include friendly animals as well. Another interpretation would be that they are equivalent to the adoring ape, and are there to indicate that all created things chant praise to the newborn sun.⁵⁶

The figure on no. 27 is reminiscent of the adoring ape, but its interpretation is uncertain.

A. *Osiris*

19. ANS/ETN (Bonner 13)

a: Mummy facing, feet to r.; at l., A/B/PA/CAΞ; at r., M/Ω/CH/N; beneath, ZOZZOZ.

b: CEN / CENΓEN / BAPAN/ΓHC (corrupt for BAP<ΦAP>AN-ΓHC — see Bonner, p. 201).

Haematite.

Goodenough 1135. Delatte and Derchain 92, 93. Munich⁵⁷ 2905. This gem appears to invoke powers of four major religions: Osiris, Abrasax, Moses, and Zoroaster (ZOZZOZ). Pliny states that magic arose in Persia with Zoroaster, but also credits Moses with the origin of Jewish magic (*HN* 30.2).⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Iamblichus (*De Mysteriis* 7.1-2) interprets the mystical significance of sun, lotus and solar bark.

⁵⁶ For a similar concept, see Ps. 65:14, and Ginzberg, vol. 1, pp. 42-46, and notes in vol. 5.

⁵⁷ E. Brandt, A. Krug, W. Gercke and E. Schmidt, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. 1, pt. 3: *Staatliche Münzsammlung München* (Munich, 1972), hereafter referred to as Munich.

⁵⁸ For a recent discussion of the image of Moses in the Graeco-Roman period, see J. G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, 1972), especially chap. 4, "Moses and Magic," pp. 134-61.

20. ANS 16/ETN (Bonner 386)

a: Mummy r., facing butterfly with star above head.
Dark green jasper with red flecks.

21. Schwartz/Osborne (pl. 29, 28)

a: Mummy of Osiris lying on the back of a lion walking l. on ground line. Behind, Anubis standing, arms raised. To l. and r., Isis and Nephthys with forearms raised.

b: BIBIOYC / AEHIOVΩ / ΙΑΩ.

Dark green basalt.

Compare Bonner 10.

The mummification of Osiris by Anubis, the jackal- or dog-headed god of death, is a scene familiar from Pharaonic and Ptolemaic monuments; in the late period this mummification scene commonly appears on funerary stelae.⁵⁹

BIBIOYC may be for BIBΛIOC, possibly an epithet of Osiris or Isis. According to Plutarch (*De Iside* 15–18, 50) the chest containing the fragments of Osiris's body was carried down the Nile into the Mediterranean and across to Phoenician Byblos. There Isis found her husband's dismembered corpse, and brought it back to Egypt for mummification. Burial of Osiris at Byblos and an associated Syrian rite are also mentioned in Lucian's *De Syria Dea* 7. Alternatively, BIBIOYC might be a magical name, which Lexa has read as "l'âme des âmes."⁶⁰

B. Sarapis

22. ANS/ETN (Bonner 18)

a: Ouroboros enclosing Sarapis with modius crown seated l., r. hand extended over Cerberus, l. resting on tall scepter.

Dark green and red jasper.

Bonner 17. Delatte and Derchain 100. Goodenough 1196. Dattari 1832 (Hadrian).

⁵⁹ Budge, vol. 2, pp. 131–38; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Egyptian Wall Paintings from Tombs and Temples* (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1954), pl. 26, from the Ramesside tomb of Amennakht; Piankoff and Rambova, nos. 17, 22, 29; *Ancient Art*, Myers/Adams 8, 10 Oct. 1974, 135.

⁶⁰ Lexa (above, n. 14), p. 118.

23. ANS/Osborne (pl. 29, 15)

a: Uraeus snake forming large coil on right and left; wears double feather crown on head. Around, ΕΙC Ζ[ΕΥ]C CΑΡΑΠCΙ (one Zeus Sarapis).

Carnelian.

Bonner 23 reverse (cobra with *atef* crown, symbol of Isis). Bonner 255 reverse. Munich 2322. Goodenough 1167. For inscription see Bonner, p. 175. For the agathodaemon depicted with the head of Sarapis, see Dattari 1827 (Hadrian); Delatte and Derchain 223, 403; and Munich 2663 (which shows a snake with the head of Isis as well).

C. Isis

24. Schwartz

a: Isis seated on throne, about to suckle Harpocrates. Her r. hand is at her breast. On back of throne, bird. To l. and r., ΛΟΑ ΘΘΑΒ. (This inscription usually appears as ΑΘΘΑ ΒΑΘΘΑ.)

b: Bes standing facing. To r. and l. ΤΑΒΙΔ ΒΕΡΕΤΕ. (This inscription usually appears as ΤΑΒΕΡ ΒΕΡΕΤΕC.)

Black basalt. Pierced.

Petrie⁶¹ 135c. Hamburg⁶² 54. Delatte and Derchain 102, 103. Bonner 29–32. Dattari 1751 (Hadrian).

D. Harpocrates: The Young Sun

See also no. 3. For gems of this type, see Bonner 190–210; Delatte and Derchain 132–54; Kassel 146–51. For an Alexandrian drachm of this type see Plate 36, E (Macrinus).

25. ANS/ETN (Bonner 265)

a: Harpocrates seated l. on lotus, knees drawn up, r. hand pointing to mouth, l. holding flail. He has scalplock, and wears disc with ray above forehead; around head, a nimbus with six linear rays and letters ΖΑΓΟΡΗ. Facing him, ithyphallic cynocephalus

⁶¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets* (London, 1914).

⁶² M. Schlüter, G. Platz-Horster and P. Zazoff, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. 4: *Hannover, Kestner-Museum; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* (Wiesbaden, 1975), hereafter identified by city.

ape with paws raised, disc on head, star above. Between their heads, crescent. Above, three scarabs, three lions l. At l. edge (broken), parts of three hawks with discs on heads, and crocodile. To r. of lions, part of an animal.

b: The four-ram-headed god Khnum, with elaborate *atef* crown, standing facing, wearing collar and kilt, holding *was* sceptre (symbolizing dominion)⁶³ in r. hand and *ankh* in l. Inscription around partly lost: ΙΑΕΩΒΑΦΡΕΝΕΜΟΝΟ[.....]ΝΕΡΦΑ ΒΩΕΑΙ (palindrome) followed by ΔΟC ΜΟ[Ι ΧΑΡΙΝ].

Bevel: Vowels, in threes, and the beginning of CΘΟΜ[], a long formula. The bases of the letters are toward side *a*.

See Delatte and Derchain index for the complete inscriptions. Haematite.


For Harpocrates adored by triads of animals, see Delatte and Derchain 147–54, Bonner 203–10; by a cynocephalus ape, Delatte and Derchain 158, 159, Bonner 194, 197, Kassel 146–48.

For identification of the figure on side *b* as Khnum, see Budge, vol. 2, p. 51; but see Delatte and Derchain 228 for a god which is similar but which has six rams' heads. Delatte and Derchain (p. 173) suggest that the image on their gem may derive from the god of the four winds or from the ram of Mendes, both of which are endowed with four rams' heads. See also Bonner 266.

26. Schwartz

a: Harpocrates seated l. on lotus, r. hand to lips and l. holding flail. Lotus has two buds and arises from solar bark. Above, three scarabs; to l. and r., symmetrically, three birds, three goats, one scorpion (that on the r. is chipped off).

Beneath boat, two snakes and crocodile.

b: AEH / ΙΟΝΩ; beneath, , possibly a monogram. The cutting of the reverse, particularly of the monogram, is much more amateurish than that of the obverse, and was probably done later.

Haematite.

Previously published by Swift.⁶⁴ Delatte and Derchain 147–54. Bonner 205–9, 391.

⁶³ Gardiner (above, n. 33), pp. 509, 559.

⁶⁴ R. H. Swift, "Gnostic Intagli," *Bulletin of the Southern California Academy of Sciences* (Los Angeles, 1931), pp. 94–99.

27. Schwartz

a: Tailless cynocephalus with uraeus serpent to l. on its head, squatting l. on ground line. Palm branch runs behind its head, butt behind neck, frond emerging in front of muzzle. Six-pointed star below chin; another behind neck.

b: ΗΛΙ / AMBPΩ.

Multicolored yellow jasper.

Delatte and Derchain 435.

Bonner (p. 199), referring to Bell, Nock and Thompson's commentary (above, n. 15, p. 247) on a demotic magical name, suggests that this inscription is an invocation of the sun god, Re. The inscription might be understood as an abbreviation of ΗΛΙOC AMBPOTOC (immortal sun). Similar inscriptions are found on reverses of several yellow or orange jasper amulets engraved with cynocephalus apes; see, for example, BM G518 and G574.

E. Scarab: The Sun

28. ANS/Osborne (pl. 29, 25)

a: Scarab surrounded by ouroboros.

b: ΙΑΩ.

Dark green jasper with red spots.

Delatte and Derchain 48–51. Bonner 12, 251. Bonner (above, n. 6), nos. 2, 47.

The well known scarab beetle is the symbol of Khepera, the self-produced father of the gods and creator of all things; it was identified with the sun throughout Egyptian history (Budge, vol. 1, pp. 355–58; vol. 2, pp. 379–82). The scarab enclosed by an ouroboros was also a common image.

29. Schwartz

a: Two-headed dragon: snake head l., wearing crown of upper and lower Egypt, its tongue extended; hawk head r., wearing the same crown. On dragon's back, winged scarab.

b: ΙΑΡΒΑΘ/ΑΓΡ (cut over a Λ or an Α) ΑΜΜ/ΗΦΙΒΛΟΧ/ΛΗΜΗΩ.

Rose quartz.

Delatte and Derchain 404, 405. Bonner (above, n. 6), no. 46. Inscription: Bonner 210; Delatte and Derchain 294, 404.

Gems with similar two-headed dragons have been interpreted by Delatte and Derchain as representing the creation of the universe (pp. 281–82). In this interpretation the dragon symbolizes the primordial ocean. On one of the gems published by Delatte and Derchain (no. 404) there is a winged frog

(a symbol of life) above the dragon; on the other (no. 405) it is an unidentified creature which sits on the monster's back. If Delatte and Derchain are correct, the winged scarab which appears on our no. 29 is most appropriate, since it symbolizes at the same time the newly created sun and its creator, Khepera. The conformation of the monster calls to mind the solar bark, as it appears on other amulets; see Braunschweig 189 for a representation of Harpocrates seated on a solar bark which has a dog's or jackal's head at one end and a lion's head at the other. Sijpesteijn⁶⁵ illustrates a gem showing a boat with a radiate human head at each end, one male and one female. Above the boat is a winged scarab on which rests an ouroboros containing the figure of Harpocrates seated on a lotus. Representations of the scarab in the solar bark appear as well in the mythological papyri (Piankoff and Rambova, pls. 5, 19, 29, 30).

It is interesting to note that our no. 29 and the gems published by Delatte and Derchain are all engraved on light-colored quartz.

F. *Anubis*

30. ANS/ETN (Bonner 365)

a: Anubis standing l., in kilted tunic and boots. Branch or schematic crown above head. In r. hand, upright dagger; in l., situla. Beneath, OAX or OΔX.

b: ΩΑΟΜΛΝΔΔΡΗ (Bonner reads this as ΩΡΟΜΑΝΔΑΡΗ).

c: Lion running l., star before, crescent above.

d: ΒΑΡΗΓΩΡΗΧΥΧ.

Haematite; spindle-shaped stone. Weight 4.6125 g. A. A. Barb suggests that this stone was once a Babylonian weight, already ancient when engraved in the Roman period (personal communication).

Bonner (above, n. 6), no. 10. Delatte and Derchain 114.

G. *The Composite God*

There is general agreement that the composite god, which Bonner calls Pantheos (pp. 156–60) and Delatte and Derchain call the god with the head of Bes (pp. 126–31), was derived from a fantastic image, prevalent in the late Pharaonic period, formed by combining figures of several gods with features of various noxious animals. Because of their fright-

⁶⁵ P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Magical and Semi-magical Gems in a Private Collection," *Bulletin van de Antieke Beschaving* (Utrecht/Leiden, 1974), pp. 246–50, no. 12.

ening appearance, these common statuettes and reliefs were intended for protection against snakes, scorpions and other harmful beasts.⁶⁶ Similar composite deities sometimes also appear on the closely related cippi of Horus, which show Harpocrates standing triumphant on a crocodile, and which were also made in the late Pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods. These stelae are covered with gods, demons, animals, and magical spells against bites and stings, and were set up in homes and gardens.⁶⁷ The best example of this type of monument is the Metternich Stele of the second century B.C. (Budge, vol. 2, chap. 16), but they occur in great numbers, and vary considerably in size. There are many stones small enough to serve as personal talismans.

The gems from the Roman period have many of the characteristics of the earlier cippi. They were engraved in a dark stone, usually black, or in obsidian. In addition to the awesome composite god, they are often crowded with magical spells. It is unlikely, however, that these amulets were made for protection only against the bites and stings of animals. A recently published hieratic magical papyrus of the Late Period (Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156) contains two vignettes of the composite god,⁶⁸ and demands of the god that Pharaon (for whom the papyrus was written) be saved from all things evil and deadly, all fear and all terror. The god's awesome and mysterious appearance will protect Pharaon against all enemies, male and female. Nothing malevolent will be able to maintain its hold upon him.⁶⁹ These ideas are echoed by the inscription in the *tabula ansata* on each side of our gem no. 34.

For gems of this type, see Bonner 253–61; Delatte and Derchain 166–80.

31. ANS/Osborne (pl. 29, 24)

a: Composite god standing facing on double ground line, legs to r., wearing *atef* crown; three projections on each side of the face, representing animals' heads. God has four wings, no arms, and

⁶⁶ G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 157–58.

⁶⁷ Steindorff (above, n. 66), pp. 163–70.

⁶⁸ S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus Magique Illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1970), pp. 11–16.

⁶⁹ Sauneron (above, n. 68), pp. 18–19.

holds three *was* scepters; bird's tail to l. Figure is ithyphallic.

b: Characters, lightly engraved (not lost by wear). Down right side $\Lambda\eta\iota$. Up from center of bottom $\nabla\iota$. Up left side $\text{N}\gamma\tau\iota$.

Dark green jasper with red flecks.

Bonner 256. Possibly not ancient.

32. ANS

a: Composite god standing facing, head and feet turned to l. Has jackal head, beetle body, four wings. Two arms above the wings hold bird-topped sceptres. Two outstretched arms below wings, bird tail to r. In upper fields, crescent to l., eight-pointed star to r. In lower l. field remains of an H; other letters probably lost. In lower right field, beginning below wing, $M/V\Psi/\text{Z}\text{Z}$. The god stands on a cartouche formed by an ouroboros, within which $W\Lambda I X...$

b: $\Lambda E O \Lambda \Psi / M \text{ CEME} / C I \Lambda A M \text{ XA} / P \Gamma H \Lambda \text{ } \Lambda \text{XIA} / N \Delta \text{ } O \text{ M} < E > \Gamma A \{ \Lambda \}$
 $C / [A] \Delta O N E \text{ } \Lambda P / . E T \omega \Pi A \Gamma / A N \text{ XAPI} / N \text{ } \Pi P O C \text{ } \Pi / A N [T E C]$.
 Haematite.

Bonner 66. Bonner (above, n. 6), no. 40. For inscription, see Delatte and Derchain 175 and index.

33. ANS/ETN

a: Composite god with bearded human face standing facing on ouroboros. Horizontal winged thunderbolt on head. Two pairs of wings, tail to r. Horizontal flail in l. hand; in r., vertical (bird-topped?) staff.

Glass.

34. Schwartz

a: Composite god standing on back of lion walking l. The god's body, which is human, is bare-chested, wears kilt, and appears to be shown from behind. Bird tail to r., two pairs of wings. Two arms below wings hold long vertical scepters. God wears bulbous headdress on top of which is abbreviation of *hemhem* crown. Four short horizontal lines protrude from each side of head. Lion stands on *tabula ansata* within which: $\Phi V \Lambda A \Xi O N \text{ } A \Pi O / \text{ } \Pi A N T O C \text{ } K A K$
 $/ O V \text{ } T O N \text{ } \Phi O P < O V N T A >$. Around, covering the entire field of the gem:

	<i>L., reading upward</i>	<i>R., reading downward</i>
Outer line:	ΙΑΩ?] CABAΩ MIXAHΛ AHUA	AMAPI IAI HII A
2nd line:	CEMECΙΛAM COVMAPTA	PAPANΓOOEIP
3rd line:	ABΛANAΘANAΛBAC	AKPAMAXAMA<PI>
4th line:	A COYMAP<TA> N	COVMAPTA
5th line:	TAANP	ACEMEI
6th line:		II (or O) CI

Outside l. staff: AM

Inside l. staff: IOA

Between legs: NA / IA / KI

Above bird tail: O

Below bird tail: ΛO / ΩI

Beneath lion: MI I

To l. of *tabula ansata*: MI

To r. of *tabula ansata*, IA
(or Λ)

Below *tabula ansata*: OVINOIANIXI / COVΛXAMΛOO / ΛIX
ANIV

Bevel: Three lines of inscription, bases of letters towards side *a*.
CEMECΙΛAM Ψ COVMAPTA COVMAPTA AΔΩNAI A[.C]A
BAΩ ABPACAΞ / COYMAPTA ΛEΛAY[. .]ΛMΛCP (cut over
E) CEΓ AKPAMAXAMAPI AKPA[.]AE (or Θ) [. .] ΨAKPA CΛI /
CEMECΙΛA{Ψ}M. . . ΛΓ TANE OYMAPIΛTΛIVNMENΓA..CI...
ΞCΙΛΛV!Y

b: Two figures, each holding staff in outer arm, touching
central figure; all stand on *tabula ansata*; to l. and r., eight-pointed
stars. Within *tabula ansata*, ΦVΛAION AΠ/O ΠANTOC KA/K
OV TON ΦO<POVNTA> Beneath, ΙΑΩ CABAΩ ABPACAΞ
A/ΔΩNAI COVMAPTA EA / AΨ AKPAMAXAPEI / ΔCE
COVMAPTA K / IΛEΛA ΨAKPA CECE/ΓENBAPΦAPANΓ/HC
AΔ ΩNAI ΛAI / COVMAPTA H / IAEA ΛIΨCI/MEI

Obsidian.

Goodenough 1123. Delatte and Derchain 177, 312.

The Kelsey Museum has an almost identical amulet (Mich. 26070) which is unpublished. There are also four similar gems in the British Museum (BM G10, G11, G205, G385).

The inscription in the *tabulae ansatae* means "protect the bearer from all evil." The long inscriptions in the fields and on the bevel are unusual for gems of this kind because they contain many recognizable magical words and names.

Almost all of these are Jewish. Scholem has shown convincingly that *akramachamarei*, *sensen barpharanges* and possibly *ablanathanalba* are Aramaic in origin. The origin and meaning of the magic word COVMAPTA, which occurs nine times on this gem, are not known. The word occasionally appears in magical papyri.⁷⁰

The three figures on side *b* probably represent Castor and Pollux accompanying a goddess. Chapouthier⁷¹ has catalogued examples of this triad, most of which can be dated to the second and third centuries A.D. The identification is suggested by the similarity of the two outer figures to depictions of the Dioscuri from this period (see, for example, the Alexandrian bronze drachms of Trajan [Dattari 844] and Hadrian [Dattari 1682; also our Plate 37, F] and a tetradrachm of Septimius Severus [Dattari 3984]). As on many of the monuments in Chapouthier's catalogue, the goddess has no recognizable attributes; often, however, several specific goddesses can be identified, most commonly Helen. Others are Selene, Cybele, Hera, Artemis, Hekate, Astarte, Demeter, Nemesis, and Isis. Identification of the group on the gem as Chapouthier's triad is tentative.

H. God on an Animal

The meaning of these amulets is uncertain. We have catalogued them here because the god stands on an animal, as does Harpocrates on the cippi. Delatte and Derchain (pp. 157–60) identify the figure with Sarapis primarily because of two gems (their nos. 206, 207), neither of which has a convincingly authentic appearance.

35. Schwartz

a: Man wearing cloak over shoulders and tunic with train, apparently holding whip, standing *r.* on back of horned animal *r.*

⁷⁰ Scholem (above, n. 13), pp. 94–100. COVMAPTA also appears in a Greek formula inserted in a mediaeval Latin charm to stop bleeding; see A. A. Barb, "Die Blutsegen von Fulda und London," in *Festschrift für Gerhard Eis* (Stuttgart, 1968), p. 488.

⁷¹ F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au Service d'une Déesse* (Paris, 1935), pp. 21–123. If not mounted or leading horses, the Dioscuri are typically shown holding long staves; besides two *piloi*, two eight-pointed stars are their most common symbol (pp. 105–15). Chapouthier (pp. 335–36) suggests that the function of the triad is protective: the twins and the goddess, "dieux sauveurs," stand guard and provide assistance. Cumont (above, n. 50), chap. 1, pp. 91–93, has shown that in the Roman period the Dioscuri represented the two revolving halves of the sky, and therefore eternal time. It is thus possible that the central figure is not a goddess, but represents the bearer of the amulet, who is to be guided and protected throughout eternity.

3. GREEK GODS

The Olympians are rarely shown on these amulets, and only those gods whose attributes allow them to be identified with popular Egyptian deities are at all common. An example not represented in this collection is Hermes, who as psychopomp is equivalent to Anubis and as messenger or mediator between gods and men is equivalent to Thoth. Herakles is the subject of an important series of amulets specific for colic (Bonner, pp. 62–64; Delatte and Derchain, pp. 202–6) which is also not represented in this collection.

Asklepios, who usually appears with the attributes of Sarapis (Delatte and Derchain pp. 178–79), is clearly shown on no. 38 as the sun. Macrobius (*Sat.* 20.1–5) points out that Asklepios, the son of Apollo, is the healing power that comes from the essence of the sun; moreover, the hero is depicted with a snake because serpents each year shed the skin of old age and renew their youth, as does the sun.

Syncretism was a prominent feature of Isiac worship in the Roman world.⁷³ Her followers claimed that Isis “Myrionymus” (with many names) was adored throughout the world. They said that, in Eleusis, she was the ancient goddess Demeter; elsewhere, Hekate; and elsewhere Nemesis (Appuleius, *Met* 11.5). Hekate is a familiar figure in magic.⁷⁴ In the fifth book of the *Pistis Sophia*, she is one of the five great punitive rulers established by Jesus to reign over the 360 rulers who did not have faith in the Mystery of the Light.⁷⁵

The significance of Nemesis on no. 42 is uncertain. Following Pliny (*HN* 28.5), we suggest that the gem is an amulet against the evil eye: “. . . we meet the evil eye by a special attitude of prayer, some invoking the Greek Nemesis, for which purpose there is an image [simulacrum] of the goddess on the Capitol.”

Occasionally, as on no. 43, one side of a gem is engraved with an image which is not magical. Since both sides of a stone need not have

⁷³ Witt (above, n. 54), espec. chap. 9. For the Graeco-Roman tradition of equating Isis with all the great goddesses see also V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 17–18, 27, 91–92.

⁷⁴ Delatte and Derchain, pp. 189–192; Lewy (above, n. 53), pp. 83–98, 240–48.

⁷⁵ G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis Sophia*, rev. ed. (London, 1921), pp. 304–5.

been cut at the same time, an ordinary gem may have been converted at a later time to an amulet. Although Nike is the eschatological symbol of the soul's triumph over death in Roman funerary art,⁷⁶ she also had other, more straightforward meanings.

A. Helios as Asklepios

38. ANS/ETN (Bonner 67)

a: Helios as Asklepios: radiate bearded male figure leaning on snake-entwined staff and holding whip; above head, T or sketchy polos crown; in upper l. and r. fields, crescent and star; to r., small animal looking up and back.

b: ΣΑΡ / Ω(?) / ΜΥ.

Yellow and white agate. Possibly not ancient.

B. Demeter

39. ANS/ETN (Bonner 26)

a: Isis as Demeter striding l., wearing modius on head and carrying lighted torch. Beneath feet, Persephone rises from beneath the ground carrying two stalks of grain in each hand.

Haematite.

Aquileia 1549.

C. Hekate

40. ANS/Osborne (pl. 29, 16)

a: Snake coiled above basket; to r., worshipper kneels on ground line, hands upraised.

b: Hekate, depicted as single figure with tripartite body; three heads, each wearing kalathos. Six arms; the top two and bottom two hold uncertain objects. In fields, Ι Α Ω.

Bevel: [Α]ΒΡΑΧΑ ΧΑΒΑΩΑ ΙΑΩ (corruption of ΧΑΒΑΩΘ ΙΑΩ). The bases of the letters are toward side *a*.

Yellow jasper.

⁷⁶ See Cumont (above, n. 50), s.v. "Victoire;" Goodenough, vol. 7, pp. 135–71, and vol. 13, s.v. "Victory."

Delatte and Derchain 280 reverse. Goodenough 1061. Bonner 63, 64, 66. Hannover 1706-8. Göttingen 608. Snake: Munich 2601b. Richter (above, n. 7) 529.

41. ANS/ETN

a: Hekate, shown as three separate women walking l. in unison. Each head wears kalathos. The figure on l. holds whip; the central figure holds short scepter over shoulder; the rightmost figure holds torch.

Carnelian.

Delatte and Derchain 254bis. Lewis⁷⁷ 345. Boston⁷⁸ 138 (p. 123).

D. Nemesis

42. ANS

a: At l., Nemesis standing facing r.; before her, wheel and small worshipper with arm raised. At r., griffin on top of column. Inscription: ΘΕΑ ΝΕΜ (the goddess Nemesis).

b: Lion l.; around, Ι ΒΟΗΙΘΙ (help). The initial Ι is the continuation of the inscription on side *a*.

Carnelian.

Bonner 57. Munich 2891 (NEMECI BOHΘΙ).

E. Nike

43. ANS

a: Winged Nike standing l. holding wreath and palmbranch.

b: ABPACA/Ξ.

Bone, colored in three layers.

4. JEWISH HEROES AND ARCHANGELS

A. Abraham and Isaac

44. ANS/ETN (Bonner 343; Goodenough 1039)

a: The sacrifice of Isaac. Abraham stands at center, holding knife in r. hand with r. arm across body. At r., Isaac walks toward

⁷⁷ M. Henig, *The Lewis Collection of Gemstones* (Oxford, 1975).

⁷⁸ *Romans and Barbarians* (exhibition catalogue, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1976), p. 123.

horned altar. Abraham looks back at ram, to l., standing under tree, above which is hand of God pointing downward. To r., above Isaac, 8-pointed star.

b: Four lines of Hebrew letters, between two horizontal lines.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------------------------|
| (1) | ...שׁל... | ... l sh ... |
| (2) | למלך שׁל מלך | s (or m) sh r w m ' m l |
| (3) | למלך שׁל מלך | ' b w(?) ' l ' m |
| (4) | למלך שׁל מלך | w(?) ' m ' i l w(?) |

This inscription is mystifying. It appears to be in Hebrew, but contains three symbols which, although they resemble Hebrew letters, differ from them significantly. These are Ⲁ , Ⲃ , Ⲅ = Ⲁ ; Ⲇ = Ⲇ ; Ⲉ = Ⲉ . These symbols also resemble characters in the magical alphabet (see below, section 7: INSCRIPTIONS). If they were read as Hebrew letters, the inscription would contain letters written in styles of different periods.⁷⁹ Despite several provocative possible partial readings, we still do not understand the inscription.⁸⁰

Dark brown peridotite. Bonner calls the stone limonite. Pierced.

Bonner briefly mentions the occurrence of scenes of the sacrifice of Isaac in antiquity, notably in the third-century A.D. murals at the Dura synagogue and the early sixth-century mosaics at Beth Alpha,⁸¹ as well as on Christian objects. Sukenik⁸² and Goodenough (pp. 172-88 and vol. 13, s.v. "Akedah") review this subject exhaustively. For an amulet maker, whether Jewish, Christian or pagan, the sacrifice is an obvious example of a deity's direct interference in human affairs.

⁷⁹ Javier Teixidor (personal communication).

⁸⁰ Line 2; The prince and Sammael (the angel of death; see C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* [Missoula, Mont. 1975], p. 174, no. 572).

Line 3: Ⲁ mother

Line 4: Ⲁ mother; or Ⲁ Asiel (the angel who heals; see E. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts* [New Haven, 1967], p. 37).

⁸¹ For H. Gute's clear copies of the murals, in the Yale Art Gallery, see Goodenough, vol. 11, pl. 3. E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* (Jerusalem, 1932), pl. 19.

⁸² Sukenik (above, n. 81), pp. 40-42.

B. Archangels

Jewish belief in four archangels is well established. Michael was the greatest of the angels (Ginzberg, vol. 7, s.v. "Michael"); the names of the other three varied during intertestamental and Rabbinic times.⁸³ Of the 39 amulets on which at least one archangel is invoked, in the collections published by Bonner and by Delatte and Derchain, 82 percent call on Michael, 15 percent on Raphael, 33 percent on Gabriel, 28 percent on Uriel (*Ουριηλ*) and 21 percent on Suriel (*Σουριηλ*). The latter pair are often invoked together; six of the eleven bearing the name of Uriel also call on Suriel.

It has been proposed that Gabriel and Uriel (Ariel) are also represented emblematically on magical gems, Gabriel as the cock-headed anguipede (see p. 158, above) and Ariel as the lion-headed anguipede (see p. 162, above). Although similar symbols involving the other archangels might be expected to have been used, we can think of no animal names that might serve as punning types for Michael or Raphael.

The names of angels continued to be used in later Hebrew amulets, where Raphael, the healer, is called upon when health is in jeopardy.⁸⁴ His association with medical problems presumably results from the tradition that Raphael taught Noah the pharmacological properties of plants, healed Abraham's wound caused by circumcision, and cured the thigh wound Jacob incurred when he wrestled throughout the night with his unidentified assailant (see Ginzberg, vol. 6, s.v. "Raphael," p. 399).

The meaning of no. 45 is uncertain, but the mummiform appearance of the figure in association with the name of Raphael suggests some medical significance. On the other hand, Bonner (pp. 111–12) tentatively placed this gem in the category of black magic, suggesting that the mummiform figure might be the intended victim, shown bound and helpless.


45. ANS/ETN (Bonner 153)

α: Ouroboros enclosing crude mummiform figure, possibly wearing headdress with three spikes (but this appears to be part of ouro-

⁸³ Yadin (above, n. 19), pp. 229–42; G. Vermes, "The Archangel Sariel," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, pt. 3, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden, 1975), pp. 159–66.

⁸⁴ Schrire (above, n. 12), chap. 19.

boros). To l. MIX/AHΛ P/AΦA; to r., HA (*sic*) / AΔΩ/NAI I/AΩ
(Michael Raphael Adonai Iao).

b: 

Carnelian.

Delatte and Derchain 30, 362. A gem in the British museum (BM G285) shows an Osiris mummy wearing a three-spiked headdress.

C. *Solomon the Cavalier*

King Solomon's power over demons is attested to by Josephus (*AJ* 8.45–6). In legends which first achieved literary form as the Testament of Solomon,⁸⁵ Solomon receives a seal from God giving him control over demons who help build the Temple in Jerusalem. This seal, which is usually mentioned on the reverse side of these amulets, has generally been thought to have been a signet ring engraved with the pentalpha (Ginzberg, vol. 6, p. 292, n. 56). But as Scholem points out, on the basis of midrashic and pseudepigraphic references, the secret name of God may be His seal.⁸⁶ The Jewish, Arabic and early Christian tradition of Solomon as a magician is concisely reviewed by McCown.⁸⁷ Solomon also figured prominently in incantations on bowls and in other Mandaic texts.⁸⁸

Although the legends of Solomon are clearly Jewish in origin, the iconography of these amulets is not. Bonner (p. 210) suggests that the mounted warrior striking down an enemy is a natural symbol of victory, and calls attention to the familiar stereotype of the mounted emperor on coins and in imperial statuary.⁸⁹ Strikingly similar in theme is a limestone openwork relief in the Louvre showing a mounted falcon-headed Horus in military dress stabbing a crocodile at his horse's

⁸⁵ McCown (above, n. 44); briefly told by Ginzberg, vol. 4, p. 150.

⁸⁶ Scholem (above, n. 13), p. 133, n. 71.

⁸⁷ McCown (above, n. 44), pp. 90–104.

⁸⁸ Isbell (above, n. 80), p. 182; E. M. Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), p. 54.

⁸⁹ See R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven, 1963), s.v. "equestrian representations," p. 236.

feet.⁹⁰ It should be noticed, however, that, unlike triumphant emperors on coins, the cavalier on these amulets is never dressed in military costume, and this forces us to seek an independent prototype for this figure.

Closely related to the armored imperial cavalier is the figure of the emperor hunting lion or wild boar. He is typically shown bareheaded, mounted on a rearing horse, his cloak streaming behind, usually without armor or any weapon other than a lance held in his upraised right hand, ready to strike the running quarry beneath. Several coin types bearing this image and legends involving the *virtus* of the emperor were struck during the Antonine and later periods, both at Rome and in Greek imperial coinage. Even more obviously than the imperial armored equestrian, the hunting emperor signifies the inevitability of success.⁹¹

Alternatively (or perhaps in parallel) Harpocrates is often shown as a non-combatant rider in small Egyptian terracottas of the Roman period.⁹² A terracotta in Berlin⁹³ shows a falcon-headed and double-crowned Horus without armor, with cloak, chiton and spear, mounted on a prancing horse. No victim or quarry runs beneath. Also without armor are various rider gods of Asia Minor, including Mên, Mithra, and Zeus Panamarios of Stratonicea.

The defeated enemy on these gems is a naked woman, an evil female demon, identified by Bonner as Lilith (p. 210). As the first wife of Adam, Lilith hated the daughters of Eve, and therefore destroyed mothers and newborn babies. Bonner suggests that these amulets, which were usually engraved on elongated ovals of black stone, most often haematite, were used to protect the young. The name of Lilith is men-

⁹⁰ *L'Arte Copte* (exhibition catalogue, Ministère d'état Affaires Culturelles, Paris, 1964), no 7 (Inv. no. X5130). For a discussion of this iconography, see J. G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* (Liverpool, 1960), pp. 113–15.

⁹¹ For second century monuments and imperial coinage, see Brilliant (above, n. 89), pp. 131, 143; for coinage and sarcophagi of the later periods, see his pp. 184, 186–88.

⁹² Breccia (above, n. 52), nos. 40–53, pls. 11–13; Mogensen (above, n. 52), pl. 42.

⁹³ H. Philipp, *Terrakotten aus Ägypten im Ägyptischen Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1972), inv. no. 9685.

tioned in inscriptions on Hebrew amulets for protection of mother and child in childbed.⁹⁴

On later amulets, for example, nos. 49 and 50 (and on some forgeries), the cavalier is engraved in materials other than black stone, and acquires nimbus, helmet and military dress. Bonner (p. 210) and Goodenough (pp. 227–35) imply that the early Solomon is the prototype of the armored cavalier saints, of whom the most familiar is St. George. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the unarmored Solomon is in the direct line of the iconographic evolution of these saints. St. George, a martyr in the time of Diocletian, was said to be buried in Lydda. His legendary fight with the dragon was a later attribution derived from a pagan tradition from nearby Jaffa involving Perseus, Andromeda and the sea monster, a tradition which in turn originated in ancient Canaanite Palestine. Identification of the evil demon on the Solomon gems with Lilith may be too narrow, since several authors have seen the conflict between the hero or saint and his enemy as one form of a traditional myth of the struggle between good and evil, in which evil has taken the form variously of Tiamat, Leviathan, Apep, Set-Typhon, and the Canaanite dragon.⁹⁵

For gems of this type, see Bonner 294–97; Delatte and Derchain 369–77.

46. ANS/ETN (Bonner 295)

a: Youthful bare-headed rider wearing toga and boots, chlamys blowing back from shoulder, thrusting down with spear at female victim who lies beneath raised forelegs of horse. Before his face, star; above, COΛOMΩN.

b: CΦP/AΓI/C ΘE/OV (seal of God).

Haematite.

⁹⁴ Schrire (above, n. 12), pp. 51–52 and s.v. "Lilith;" M. R. Josephy, *Magic and Superstition in the Jewish Tradition* (exhibition catalogue, The Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica, Chicago, 1975), nos. 190–200.

⁹⁵ D. Flusser, "Paganism in Palestine," in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, 2, ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern (Assen, 1976), pp. 1080–83. See also the preface to E. A. W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia* (London, 1888), espec. pp. xxxii–iii. A. A. Barb, "Antaura—the Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (London, 1966), pp. 1–23; Griffiths (above, n. 90), pp. 113–15, 128–30.

Delatte and Derchain 369-72. Bonner 294-97. Goodenough 1046-47. Munich 2913.

47. ANS/ETN

a: Fragment of a similar but cruder gem, on which may be seen most of rider, horse's hindquarters, and legs of victim; CO[. . . .] (surely COΛOMΩN).

b: [C]ΦP/[A]ΓIC / [ΘE]O/V.
Haematite.

48. Schwartz

a: Similar fragment; COΛOMΩ and star are visible, as are horse's mane and victim's legs.

b: CΦP/AΓI/[C] ΘE/[O]Y /] ∟
Shale.

5. SAINTS

49. ANS/ETN (Bonner 319)

a: Rider saint with nimbus galloping r., transfixing indistinct figure with spear, upper part of which is cross. At bottom, almond-shaped object crossed by two diagonal lines: the evil eye blinded? (Bonner).

b: +O / KAT/VKO (variation of the first two words of Psalm 91: O KATOIKΩN [Bonner]).
Bronze, with suspension loop.

50. ANS/ETN (Bonner 314)

a: Rider saint with nimbus riding r., spearing figure lying on ground. Lion below walking r. Inscription around: EIC ΘEOC O NIKΩN TA KAKA (one god who conquers evil).

b: Inscription consisting of a series of names of things hostile to the evil eye, some known to be apotropaic symbols, probably to be concluded: [ΣΩΣΟV] EK / [KAKΩV ?].
Bronze, with suspension loop.

Bonner 298-300, 318. For reverse inscription, see Bonner, p. 215.

The following two gems show nimbate saints as orants. Although obviously Christian in the present context, this gesture represented

respectful worship in Pharaonic art and *pietas* in Roman art.⁹⁶ *Pietas* was an attribute assigned to the dead in the early Christian period. These gems are stylistically reminiscent of numerous grave stelai excavated at Terenuthis in Egypt which show the deceased as an orant and which date from A.D. 250–350.⁹⁷

51. ANS/ETN (Bonner 335)

a: Saint standing front, head l., hands raised. He seems to be rising from sarcophagus. To l. and r., cross potent.

b: ΑΓΙ/Ε Λ/ΕΟ/ΝΤ/Ι (Saint Leontius; martyred during the reign of Vespasian).

Haematite.

Gramatopol 378. Delatte and Derchain 422. BM G459: very similar type, but ΑΓΙΕ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙ (Saint Procopius).

52. ANS/ETN

a: Figure with nimbus, draped, standing facing on ground line, hands raised; to l. and r., cross potent; to l. and r. of figure's feet, small animal. (Possibly Daniel between the lions.)

Yellowish glass.

6. SPECIFICS

In addition to the Chnoubis gems, there are several other types of amulets known to have been used for specific ailments. Our collection lacks two important amulets of this kind, the previously-mentioned one for colic depicting Herakles (page 179), and the type with uterus and key, intended for gynecological complaints.⁹⁸

A. *The Reaper (Sciatica)*

The image of the bent body of the reaper, which is almost always engraved on a haematite oval, was a specific against the low back

⁹⁶ A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography, a Study of Its Origins* (Princeton, 1968), pp. 32–33; and see our Plate 39, G (Gordian III, *RIC*, vol. 4, pt. 3, p. 28, no. 129).

⁹⁷ Mogensen (above, n. 52), A790, A791; Herbert (above n. 39), no. 29; E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York, 1964), pp. 44–45.

⁹⁸ Bonner, chap. 6; Delatte and Derchain, pp. 245–58; Barb (above, n. 6), pp. 193–238.

syndrome (Bonner, pp. 71–75). It is interesting to note that these amulets are too large to be worn as rings, and too soft and fragile to be mounted or holed for suspension. They are similar in shape and size to the Solomon amulets already described, and to several other types (see nos. 26, 46–48 and 51). We suggest that amulets of this size and shape, which were engraved on particularly fragile stones, were carried in a pouch by the user, whose physical activities when protection was most needed would in any case make wearing a stone of this size as a ring or lavalier inconvenient. Egyptian amulet cases are preserved from Pharaonic to comparatively recent times, although they were usually used for written charms.⁹⁹ The use of leather cases for carrying Hebrew amulets is attested to by Maimonides' commentary on *Shabbath* 61b–62a (*Mishneh Torah* 10:5).

As Bonner pointed out, the scene depicting the reaper is probably derived from a contemporary personification of Summer, which also appears on Alexandrian drachms of Antoninus Pius.¹⁰⁰ Cap, grain stalks, tree, and the reverse inscription are significant elements in the magical iconography, since they vary little from gem to gem.

Two intaglios in the ANS collection (nos. 55 and 56) with a similar motif are not amulets. On no. 55 the tree is absent, and there are standing stalks on both sides of the reaper; no. 56 shows a grape vine instead of a tree, and the reaper, who is bareheaded, holds the scythe in his left hand. In the impression—and these two gems, unlike amulets, were made to be seen in impression—the reaper would be right-handed. In addition, neither of these gems is engraved in haematite, and both are small enough to have been intended as ringstones.

For gems of this type, see Bonner 115–25; Delatte and Derchain 261–69.

⁹⁹ Petrie (above, n. 61), p. 29, nos. 131, 133.

¹⁰⁰ Bonner, pl. 22, fig. 1; Plate 39, H (Dattari 2986–89). We have recently acquired a specimen of Dattari 2989 which was pierced in antiquity, to the left and right of the reverse type. This would allow the coin to be worn flat against the body with the reaper upright. We can speculate that this coin served as an amulet, strapped flat against the aching lower back. For a further discussion of the type, see A. A. Barb, "Bois du Sang, Tantale," *Syria* 1952, pp. 271–84; this reference, p. 283, n. 7.

53. ANS/ETN (Bonner 121)

a: Bearded reaper bending to r., wearing tunic and cap. He has cut three stalks of grain with scythe, and there are three left standing. Behind him, tree.

b: CXI/ΩN (for the lower back).

Haematite.

Bonner 115–25. Delatte and Derchain 268.

54. ANS/ETN

a: Fragment of a similar gem, on which scythe, three stalks of grain and part of tree are visible.

b: Θ / Ξ / Ο / C (only one letter of each line preserved).

Haematite.

55. ANS/Osborne (pl. 29, 2)

a: Reaper bending to l. wearing bowl-shaped hat, and cutting two stalks; to r., one standing stalk.

Carnelian.

56. ANS

a: Bare-headed reaper l., cutting two stalks with scythe held in left hand; to r., grape vine.

Cream-colored and black granite.

B. Lizard

The lizard and its parts were important in ancient pharmacology and magic.¹⁰¹ Gems of this kind have been shown to be part of a specific treatment for diseases of the eye, described by Pliny (*HN* 29.129–30) and by Aelian (*NA* 5.47). A blinded lizard is shut up together with a ringstone engraved with the image of a lizard, during the last half of a month (hence the crescent moon pointing downward). After nine days, the animal regains his sight, and the gem is set in a ring with the needles originally used to blind him (Bonner, pp. 69–71). Gems of this kind are usually mottled. ΠΗΡΑ (*πειρα*) on the obverse refers to

¹⁰¹ Bell, Nock and Thompson (above, n. 15), pp. 274–79.

the sharp point used in the blinding of the lizard; KANΘE COVΛE has been read as *κανθε σ ουλε[ι]* "Eye, [the lizard] will cure you."¹⁰²

57. Schwartz

a: Dorsal view of lizard, crescent (points down) above its head; above and below, to l. and r., Π Η Ρ Α .

b: KANΘE / COVΛE.

Hornblende with almandine garnet (black with red and white veining).

Delatte and Derchain 366. Bonner 112.

C. *Erotic*

Many of the erotic gems in the collection can be classified as variants on the theme of the quarrels of Eros and Psyche. This group of amulets might never have been identified as magical without knowledge of the Paris magical papyrus¹⁰³ called the "Sword of Dardanus" (Bonner, pp. 120–22; Delatte and Derchain, pp. 233–39). An elaborate method for making a woman love a man is described in this papyrus. One part of the formula is to repeat a long prayer. In order for the prayer to be effective, an engraved gem must be placed under the tongue during the recitation. The engraving is described precisely: Aphrodite is shown riding astride the back of Psyche; below the figures, Eros stands on a sphere, holding a lighted torch with which he burns Psyche. On the reverse, Psyche and Eros embrace each other.

Although a gem exists which fits this description,¹⁰⁴ there are many which do not conform to it but which contain scenes that are closely related thematically. Aphrodite is rarely shown. Usually Psyche is shown being burned or bound; she often appears without Eros. Sometimes Eros is depicted bound, without Psyche.

¹⁰² A.-J. Festugière, "Amulettes magiques," *Classical Philology* 1951, p. 83.

¹⁰³ K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* 2 (Leipzig, 1931), IV.

¹⁰⁴ R. Mouterde, "Le Glaive de Dardanos," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 15 (Beirut 1930), pp. 51ff. C. C. Schlam, *Cupid and Psyche: Apuleius and the Monuments* (University Park, Pa., 1976) describes the iconography of Eros and Psyche from the fifth century B.C., and interprets their symbolic function during the period in which our gems were engraved; the torments of love are discussed on pp. 14–19.

An additional important iconographic element which often appears on the gems is not explained directly by reference to the "Sword of Dardanus." A statue of Nemesis as a griffin, sometimes with her wheel, is placed on top of a column to which either Psyche (no. 58) or Eros (no. 60) is bound. On no. 61 Eros sits bound in front of the statue on a plinth. These gems are inscribed with the word ΔΙΚΑΙΩC, "justly." These rather menacing iconographical elements seem easy to interpret, and Bonner proposed that the inscription, taken together with the symbolic allusion to Nemesis, means that as Eros has tormented the soul, so must he also be tortured. Delatte and Derchain take this idea a bit further by considering that these gems might have been involved in revenge for unrequited love. Although it is likely that these gems were derived from amulets used in specific love spells, it is possible that all of the gems in this common group may not have been used in just this way. They are almost always artistically carved on a stone suitable for a signet, and are usually without reverse inscription (as would be expected for a ringstone). We suggest that an ardent admirer might present this kind of amulet, perhaps set in a ring, to the object of his desire in order to convey the idea that he burned for her and hoped that she would reciprocate. The magic was magical thinking: since I burn for you, you *ought* to burn for me.

58. Schwartz

α: Winged Psyche, arms bound behind back, seated r. before column on which are griffin and wheel; in front of Psyche, flaming torch. To r. of griffin, ΔΙΚΑΙΩC.

Red jasper.

Delatte and Derchain 328.

59. ANS/ETN (Bonner 157)

α: Aphrodite standing, her legs bound with rope the end of which is held by Eros; ΠΟΘEC (corrupt for ΠΟΘOC, desire).

Haematite.

Aquileia 1548. See Bonner, pp. 121-22, who had some difficulty with the iconography but cited ancient parallels from non-magical gems and wall paintings.

60. ANS/Osborne (pl. 29, 18)

a: Eros standing l., hands on hips, tied to column on top of which sits griffin with its paw on wheel. To left, ΔΙΚΑΙΩC.

Dark green jasper with red flecks and veining.

Bonner 161. Berry¹⁰⁵ 130.

61. ANS

a: Eros, hands tied behind back, seated l. facing plinth on which is griffin with extended forepaw; plinth and griffin are partly chipped off.

Carnelian.

Furtwängler, pl. 27, 2–5.

7. INSCRIPTIONS

Gemstones engraved only with letters, letter-like symbols (magical signs or *χαρακτῆρες*), and groups of letters or words are easy to identify as magical or amuletic, since similar inscriptions appear on stones together with images. Bonner (chaps. 13, 14) groups inscriptions into two categories: meaningful and cryptic. The inscriptions on many specimens, however, fall into both categories simultaneously. It is therefore difficult to arrange a sensible catalogue of gems engraved only with inscriptions.

Inscriptions consisting of a god's name alone are acclamations which serve to invoke the power of the god for protection against evil (Bonner, p. 174). ΙΑΩ, which Diodorus Siculus identifies as the name of the God of the Jews (*Histories* 1.94), and Macrobius as that of the supreme god (*Saturnalia* 1.20), appears in a long, unintelligible inscription on no. 62. The names of Iao, Sabaoth and Michael appear on no. 63. Jesus is invoked on nos. 64, 65 and 66. Invoking the name of Jesus as a power against the evil spirits by Jewish magicians is recorded in Mark 9:38 and in Acts 19:13. He is invoked in a number of magical papyri,¹⁰⁶ and

¹⁰⁵ B. Y. Berry, *Ancient Gems from the Collection of Burton Y. Berry* (Bloomington, 1968).

¹⁰⁶ Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (above, n. 8), pp. 62–64, nn. on p. 183.

his name appears in a list of other guardian powers on an Aramaic incantation bowl.¹⁰⁷

Whether the name ΙΑΚΩΒ, which is engraved on no. 67, refers to the Patriarch or is the personal name of the bearer of the amulet (see no. 68) is uncertain. Greek forms of the name Jacob are recorded in Egypt.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, there may be some support for Youtie's reading of the inscription as "Jacob, the likeness of Jahweh: his son," which uses both Hebrew and Aramaic, and which Bonner advances without much enthusiasm (p. 171). In late antiquity Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were most frequently named together as Fathers of Israel. But there is an important tradition, which may relate to the inscription on this gem, which considers Jacob the greatest of the Patriarchs.¹⁰⁹ This tradition, in part founded on Ps. 24:6, ranks Jacob with the angels, and claims that his countenance is in the Merkabah (Ginzberg, vol. 1, p. 351; p. 290, n. 134). A magical papyrus is entitled *Προευχη Ιακωβ* (Prayer of Jacob).¹¹⁰ Moreover Jacob, like Solomon, is an appropriate figure to invoke against demons. He was not afraid to fight in the darkness of the night (Ginzberg, vol. 5, p. 305, n. 247). His anonymous assailant was unable to fight after daybreak, recalling the ineffectiveness of demons after dawn.¹¹¹

Gems 69–73 are inscribed with letters and magical signs which cannot be read as words (Bonner, chap. 14; Delatte and Derchain, pp. 360–61). In some instances the letters are the seven Greek vowels or voices. Vowels were intoned in the worship of Egyptian gods and in the casting of magical spells; they also constitute the music of the spheres, since each is the tone given forth by one of the seven ancient planets.¹¹² The magical signs were used in magical papyri, silver lamellae, and incantation bowls.¹¹³ Often they are strikingly similar to Cabalistic

¹⁰⁷ Isbell (above, n. 80), p. 118.

¹⁰⁸ V. A. Tcherikover, A. Fuks and M. Stern, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, 3 (Cambridge, 1964), p. 179.

¹⁰⁹ *Second Isaiah*; see Ginzberg, vol. 5, pp. 274–76, n. 35, for rabbinic references.

¹¹⁰ Preisendanz (above, n. 103), XXIIb.

¹¹¹ For the relationship between dawn and demons, see nn. 23–24 above.

¹¹² Bonner, p. 187; and Fifth Book of *Pistis Sophia* (above, n. 75), p. 313.

¹¹³ Goodenough, pp. 190–205; P. J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionem Judaicarum*, 1 (Rome, 1936), no. 674, pp. 485–6; W. S. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 28–47.

distortions of Hebrew letters (Ketav Mal'akhim) used in the occult sciences of the Renaissance,¹¹⁴ and on later Hebrew amulets.¹¹⁵ On the gems, however, the only letters which can be recognized are Greek.

62. ANS/ETN (Bonner 287)

α: Ouroboros around ANOX ΙΑΩ ΠΑ/CA ΛΟΝΗ ΒΟΡΒΟ/Λ Ω
ΚΩΙΕΝΚ ΓΑΒΩΝ/ ΓΑΛΛΑΤΑΘΟΝΓ/ CABAΟΝΤ ΚΑΤ/ΑΔΗΘΙΕΙ.
(I am Iao . . . let it be bound or tied up.)

Peridotite. Bonner says steatite and quartz. Tan with green veining.

63. Schwartz

Rectangular bead, pierced longitudinally. On its four sides:

ΙΑΩ; CABAΩΘ; ὙΞΕ*; ΜΧΑΗΛ (*sic*).

Lead.

Bonner 361.

64. ANS/ETN

α: IHCO/V BOH/ΘΙ and palm branch. (Jesus, help.)

Gray granite.

65. ANS/ETN

α: IH/COV (Jesus).

Carnelian.

Munich 2900.

66. ANS/ETN

HC>/OV< (Jesus).

Black serpentine with light brown areas.

67. ANS/ETN (Bonner 275)

α: ΙΑΚΩΒ / ΑΚΟVBΤΑ / ΙΑΩ / ΒΕΡΩ.

Red jasper.

¹¹⁴ For example, *Sword of Moses*, fifteenth century, formerly in the Sassoon Collection; Sotheby & Co. A. G., *Thirty-eight Highly Important Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts from the Collection Formed by the Late David Solomon Sassoon* (Zürich, 1975), 1. See also Budge (above, n. 29), pp. 388–404.

¹¹⁵ For example, *Book of Raziel*, see Budge (above, n. 29), p. 229.

68. Schwartz

a: ↑⊗⧻⊗⧻//IAΩ ABP ♪ / AHΛ ⊗⊗ / >E†

ABPAHΛ is to be read as one word, probably a combination of Abra(ham) and El (God).


b: MAPKEΛ/ΛOC VIOC / IOVNIΛΛ/HC (Marcellus son of Junila).

Black rock.

Delatte and Derchain 459.

Throughout the ancient period a person is identified in magical practice by the name of his mother, presumably with the idea of leaving no loophole for the forces of evil, since *pater semper incertus*. This usage is continued in later Hebrew amulets.¹¹⁶ Schrire quotes *Shabbath* 66b, Rashi: "All forms of incantation are performed in the name of the mother."

69. ANS/ETN (Bonner 293)

a: Ouroboros encircling * 117

b: IAH IAH / ΩIAOVI.

Carnelian.

Braunschweig 195. Goodenough 1028. Delatte and Derchain 506, 511. Kassel 204. Hamburg 84.


70. ANS

a: IAH / IAEI / IEΩ.

Multicolored jasper.


Bonner 170.

71. ANS

a: IΔEN / HΔ† PENNI- / IYOENY / EP† ΔBNNI / EAI; beneath, two eight-pointed stars flanking .

Carnelian ring, carved in one piece, broken. Probably modern.

72. ANS

a: Oval encircling 

Carnelian. 

¹¹⁶ Schrire (above, n. 12), p. 48.

¹¹⁷ For a discussion of these three signs and the similar ones on no. 15, see A.A. Barb's review of Delatte and Derchain (above, n. 8), pp. 301-2.

73. ANS/ETN

a: Ouroboros encircling

b:

The reverse inscription appears to contain the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew letters representing the Tetragrammaton: ΠΠΠΠ. Lapis lazuli.

Delatte and Derchain 465.

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Plate 34



Ancient Magical Amulets

Plate 35



13



14



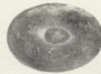
15



16



17



18



19



22



23



20



21



C

Ancient Magical Amulets

Plate 36



24



25



D



26



27



28



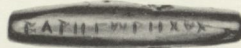
29



E



30



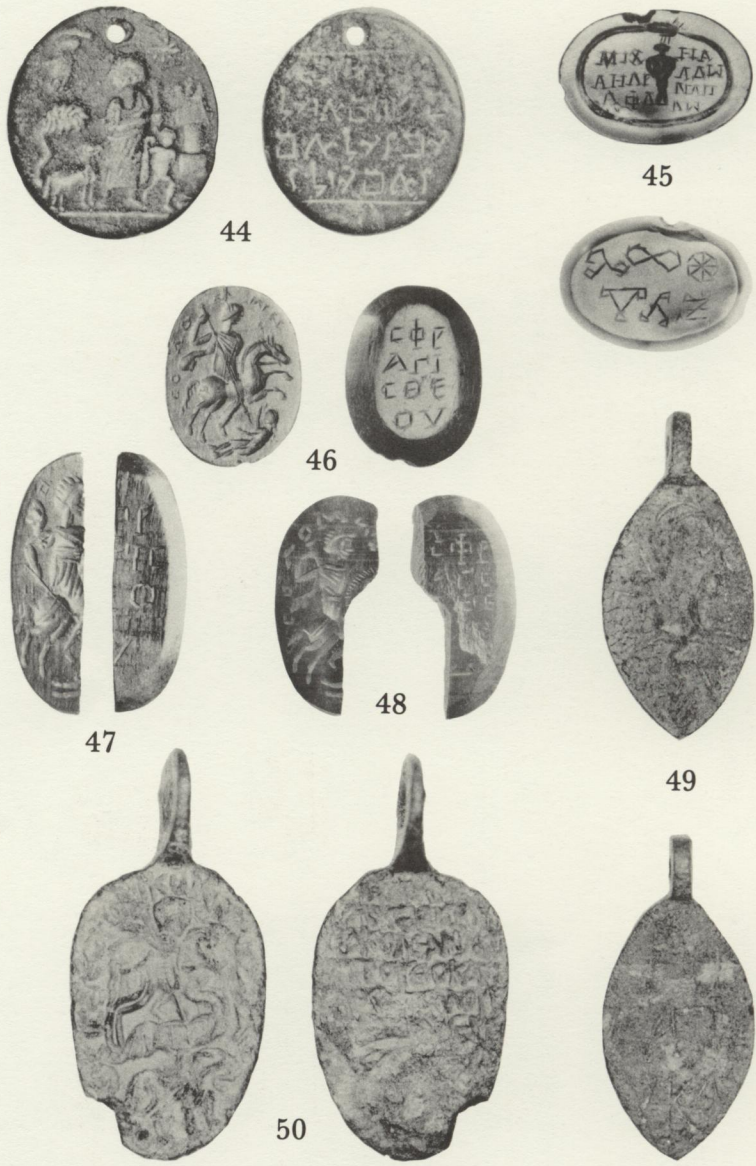
Ancient Magical Amulets

Plate 37



Ancient Magical Amulets

Plate 38



Ancient Magical Amulets

Plate 39



51



52



G



53



54



55



56



H



57



58



59



60



61

Ancient Magical Amulets

Plate 40



62



63



64



65



68



66



67



70



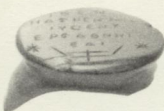
69



72



71



73



Ancient Magical Amulets



ENGRAVED GEMS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY II:
INTAGLIOS WITH EROS

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ENGRAVED GEMS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY II: INTAGLIOS WITH EROS

(PLATES 4–5)

JAMES H. SCHWARTZ

Eros appears with high frequency on ringstones of the Roman period. The data from collections of engraved gems obtained at known archaeological sites inform us that he was usually the most popular god in the west where his depiction constitutes 15 to 20 percent of all deities (see Table below). In the east, however, with the exception of Anit Hamberger's 165 gems found on the beach at Caesarea, the source of intaglios is not well documented. There is Maddoli's publication of seal impressions from an archive in Cyrene presumed to have been deposited in the early years of the second century (Maddoli:40-145). In this archive, Eros appears on seals somewhat less frequently than on the western intaglios. The distribution of types, however, may not be a reliable guide because all of the seal impressions were affixed to the outer surface of documents as a guarantee of authenticity. Although ringstones certainly were used as signets (Henig 1997:88-106), some must have been personal jewelry. Therefore, the devices on the archive's impressions may have been biased towards images thought proper for public use.

The taste of modern collectors might also be expected to influence the distribution of surviving types. Thus, the great collections in London, Berlin, Vienna, and other European cities, as well as the 529

gems in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, may not represent Roman taste accurately. Although the collections include some archaeological finds, they consist largely of gems acquired on the Grand Tour since the end of the eighteenth century.

The popularity of Eros as a device may not seem to require explanation, since the image of Cupid still continues to be meaningful. His antique images were explicated by Renaissance Neoplatonists (Wind 1968: 146, n. 58; 160-65; Panofsky 1939:129-69) and were magnificently resurrected in paintings and in emblem books (Gordon 1975:51-74). Even though Eros had some of the familiar attributes of modern Cupids and sweet, slyly innocent putti, he had other features acquired chiefly during the Hellenistic period. Many of the devices on engraved gems of the Roman period can be recognized in terracottas, notably from Tanagra and Myrina, and in southern Italian vase painting. Some of the sources for images of Eros include Daremberg-Saglio s. v. "Cupido (Eros)," 2, 1:1595-1611 (Collignon); *RE*, s. v. "Eros," 6, 1:484-542 (Waser); Griefenhagen 1957; *RAC*, s. v. "Eros (Eroten) II (in der kunst)," 6:312-342 (Rumpf); *LIMC*, s. v. "Eros," 3, 1:850-942 (Hermay et al.); *LIMC*, s. v. "Eros (in periphēria orientali)," 3, 1:942-952 (Augé et al.); *LIMC*, s. v. "Amor, Cupido," 3, 1:952-1049 (Blanc et al.). From literary sources, we can assume that panel paintings, figural tapestries, and silver, which have perished, also contained images of Eros (Webster 1964:156-77). These images, most of which were invented in the fourth century B.C., remained current until the end of the Roman period. As Richard Brilliant (1974:202-3) writes, "In the minor arts, especially in court silver, cameos, and gems, the connections and continuities were particularly intimate, not only because the workshops seem to have survived from the Hellenistic period into the Empire, but also because these craft traditions seem to have had greater, persistent autonomy. And those traditions had a Greek foundation." (Also see Plantzos 1999).

The gems in the collection have been divided into five groups. The first contains gems with devices deriving directly from identified Hellenistic or late Roman Republican statues. The next group shows Eros as victor, while the third shows the cycle of Psyche and the chastisement of Eros. The fourth group shows Eros as bringer of abundance and bliss. Finally, the last group shows Eros as Death.

Eros as a Roman Copy

Eros born of Chaos, the oldest of the gods, originally was seen as a cosmic driving force (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 116 ff.; Grantz 1993:3-4). In the classical period he was depicted as an enchanting adolescent with long wings. An alternative—and presumably later—myth made Eros the son of Aphrodite. In vase painting, he is shown approaching a potential love object in flight, often bearing a dove, cock, rabbit, or toy hoop as a gift or holding weapons to induce love—a bow and arrow, a torch, or a small whip (Shapiro 1992:53-72). He also carries the musical instruments played at a symposium—a lyre, double flute, or triangle. Eros as ephebe predominated on fifth century monuments and, because of his chastity, Eros the child was regarded as especially appropriate for religious ceremonies, particularly marriages (Nock 1924:152-55).

Major representations of Eros during the Hellenistic period show the god diminishing in age. Praxiteles' marble statue of Eros, made for Thespiae, removed to Rome by the time that Pliny described it (*NH* 36, 23), and destroyed by fire under Nero, shows a boy of about twelve years old. His statue at Parion also showed a pre-adolescent (Pliny, *NH* 36, 23; Horster 1970:42-43). The bronze Eros of Lysippos, also at Thespiae (Paus. ix, 27, 3), appears to be no older than ten in the 56 copies that have been identified (Johnson 1927:104-16; Döhl 1968:35-37). For Megara (Paus. i, 43, 6; Pliny, *NH* 36, 25), Skopas is reported to have made three statues representing aspects of Eros—Eros (Love), Himeros (Longing), and Pothos (Desire). Pausanias wrote, unhelpfully imprecisely, that the forms of the three statues differ as do their names and functions. The image of Pothos has been identified as a long-haired, winged boy leaning on a staff (see catalogue below, 1) (Horster 1970:75-82; Stewart 1977:108-12; Stewart 1990, 1:184).

By the end of the fourth century, the predominant image of Eros is that of a two- to six-year-old with short wings. Often, depending on the representation, Eros has multiplied into two or more Erotes. His aspects are also multiplied as he takes on the attributes of another god (2 and 3), now the trappings of all trades and professions—vintners, hunters, fishermen, blacksmiths, and tragic poets (4).

The dramatic change of Eros's age has frequently been noted, especially for terracottas (Myrina—Mollard-Besques 1963:48-61; Lyssipos—Döhl 1968:76-77), but has never been adequately explained. Döhl

conjectures that the change occurred first at Athens, where for a brief time early in the third century terracottas of Eros as ephebe existed side by side with Eros as child. If the change was initiated at Alexandria, it might reflect the increasing importance of the child Harpocrates in Ptolemy Soter's recently created Isaic trinity (Malaise 1972:198-203). A change in panel painting at Pergamum or some other major art center in Asia Minor has also been suggested to account for the new type of Eros at Myrina (Webster 1964:185). Wherever the change took place, these suggestions presume the influence of a powerful major work of art now lost. But they do not help explain the social and historical reasons for the change.

One simple explanation for the change in fashion is the decorative use of Eros as servant to Aphrodite. For example, vast numbers of southern Italian vase paintings show Eros bringing his mother mirrors, fans, and other toilet articles. This Eros as minion becomes politically important in the depiction of Venus Victrix, in which Eros offers Venus a helmet or some other part of Mars's armor for her admiration (5). Venus Genetrix (or Victrix if depicted with armor) was venerated by a succession of first-century Roman conquerors including Marius, Sulla, and Pompey (Schilling 1954:267-374), and Julius Caesar consecrated a temple to her as his personal ancestor in the Roman forum.

Eros as Victor

Poets in antiquity often offered another more poignant explanation for why Eros is depicted as a child, as in Propertius's elegy 2, 12 and in more than 60 poems of the *Greek Anthology* that tell of the joys and anguish of love. Eros is a child because love is childish: it is playful, irritating, violent, undisciplined, painful, but nevertheless irresistible, beautiful and, sometimes, delightful. Apollonius presents Eros as a mischievous imp, toying with a golden ball taken from Zeus (*Argonautica* 3, 132 ff.), probably suggesting that Love toys with the world as a child with a ball. The most frequent metaphor for being in love used by the poets of the *Greek Anthology* is being burned alive by Eros's irresistible fire. Thus the treacherous charms of the impish child are preferred, however coyly, to the aloof cosmic beauty of the adolescent divinity. Another key difference between adolescent and child is that Eros the adolescent occasionally experiences love himself, whereas the child is either the instrument of passion or its symbolic representation.

Shown as a long-winged youth, Agon, the personification of the Contest, may be another source of Eros's iconography. In some copies of Praxiteles' statue, Eros crowns himself with a victor's laurel wreath. God of the Contest is an appropriate role for Love, who conquers all. One of the most common devices on engraved gems shows Eros wrestling with his brother, Anteros (6). Pausanias describes a relief in a gymnasium at Elis (vi, 23, 5) and two altars at Athens (i, 30-7) that show the struggle between Eros (Love) and Anteros (Love Returned or the Avenger of Scorned Love). This wrestling match also appears in vase painting, wall painting, mosaics, terracottas, and ivory boxes. Possibly the wrestling match was simply a popular plaque for the palestra, but on gems the match becomes allegorical—desire is quenched when reciprocated. Gems with this device might have served as magical charms for success in love as observed by Ovid (*Fasti* IV, 1, April), *Alma fave, dixi, geminorum mater Amorum* ["O gracious mother of the twin loves," said I, "grant me thy favor"]. In the Renaissance the meaning of this image changed still further. Neoplatonism transformed the wrestling Cupids into Higher and Lower Loves (Panofsky 1939:126-28; 1969:129-37).

The contest between Erotes is also shown in the cock fight (7 and 8). The rooster is credited with a prodigious libido that can be exploited by Eros. The cock fight is likely to have had the same allegorical sense as the wrestling match. For the Roman period the frequent representation of cocks fighting on funerary monuments extends this allegory to the wished-for triumph of the deceased over death (Cumont 1942/1966:398-99; Deonna 1955:139-42).

In intaglio 10, Eros is about to catch a ball. In antiquity, ball playing was rarely thought of as a contest although it was a popular sport. Many ancient notables, from Alexander the Great to Sidonius Apollinaris, had their own private ball courts (*sphairisterion* or *sphaeristium*) (Harris 1972:75-111). A golden ball in Eros's hands as allegory for the world has already been mentioned. The figure of Nike standing on a sphere (the Victoriola) undoubtedly was easy to interpret as the world on coins of Augustus minted after the battle of Actium (e.g., *BMCR* 4338-40, denarii of 31-29 B.C.; Arnaud:53-116). The triviality of a child's ball game as an allegory for the whole world makes it quite clear that love makes the world go round and that Eros triumphs. He

celebrates by dressing a trophy (11) and by carrying laurel branches (12). On funerary monuments of the second century A.D. and later, depictions of contests and cock fights are allegories of the struggle with death, and the laurel crown and trophy represent the hope of immortality (Cumont 1942/1966:398, n. 4, and 462-84; Huskinson:18-20; 44-45; 105-7).

The Punishment of Eros

Eros is not always represented as victor. Sometimes he is punished for his cruelty. At least 30 poems in the *Greek Anthology* describe the painful burns inflicted by Eros. Possibly the most common device in the collection shows Eros holding a lighted torch under Psyche as a butterfly (13). Unlike the tale told by Apuleius (*Metam.* VI.), Cupid rarely, if ever, is shown as a youthful lover, but rather as a wanton imp, so that Schlam (1976:31-40) concludes that the visual version of the Cupid and Psyche story is independent of the literary one. A gem engraved with the device of Eros scorching Psyche may have served as a magical charm intended to force a woman (represented by Psyche) to love the man for whom the stone was engraved (Bonner 1950:115-22). The scene evokes the magical papyrus called the "Sword of Dardanius" (*PGM* 4:1716-1870, Betz 1986:67-71, n. 221) and other examples of ancient love magic (Faraone 1999: 55-60; Winkler 1991: 214-43.) A strong indication that the device is magical is that some gems with this device are engraved with magical inscriptions (Delatte and Derchain 1964: nos. 325 and 326).

Psyche is the word for both butterfly and soul, and depictions of butterflies often appear on gems (14). The association of the butterfly with the soul has been traced to the beginning of the Mycenaean age (Vermule 1979:76). In funerary art, the theme of Eros and Psyche is allegorical and represents the wish that Eros intercede for Psyche, the soul of the deceased, and have her transported to Olympus, there to dwell as an immortal with the gods (Cumont 1942/1966:319-20; Huskinson 1996:52-54 and 102; Turcan 1966:585-88). Later, the agony of Psyche was given a Neoplatonic interpretation (Plutarch, *Amatorius* C. 7, p. 762; Wind 1967:126, n. 79).

A butterfly perched on a tiller attached to a steering oar (Casson 1971:225, n. 5) is an emblem that can be easily read (15). The rudder, an attribute of Fortuna, represents luck or fate, not a naval battle,

which is typically represented by a prow. Several other symbols frequently accompany rudders on gems and coins (C. Lentulus, 76 B.C., *BMCRSpain* 52, rudder, wreath, globe; T. Carisius, 46 B.C., *BMCRRRome* 4065, rudder, cornucopia, globe, scepter; L. Aemilius, 44 B.C., *BMCRR* 4157-59, winged caduceus, fasces, globe, two right hands joined, ax; L. Mussidius, 42 B.C., *BMCRR* 4237, rudder, cornucopia, globe, caduceus, apex; on gems, the kerykeon, thyrsus, and sistrum) suggesting that these elements form rebuses that were easily read and had a common syntax. Thus the caduceus and kerykeon represented Hermes, the thyrsus stood for Dionysus; and the sistrum for Isis. The scepter represented power, the wreath victory, the cornucopia abundance, and the globe the civilized world (see for example, Brendel 1980:7-26). These emblems composed of recognizable symbols or attributes were particularly popular in the mid-first century B.C. A gem published by Furtwängler (*AG* 30, 37) shows Eros as ruler of the world, seated on a globe, with his left hand on a tiller and Nike perched in his right. Thus the device on this gem must be some version, erotic or Neoplatonic, of Love governing the fate of the world.

If only for his inconsiderate treatment of Psyche, Eros deserved to be punished (Curtius 1930:53-62). The punishments of Eros depicted on intaglios 16 and 17 are typical. Amulets showing Eros bound before a column with the inscription ΔΙΚΑΙΩC (justly) are magical and are meant to punish the object of an unrequited love (Bonner 1950:121; Delatte and Derchain 1964:235-39). Three of these magical amulets in the collection of the American Numismatic Society were published previously (Schwartz and Schwartz 1979: nos. 58, 60, and 61) together with a gem showing Aphrodite bound with a rope, the end of which is held by Eros (59). The figure of Nemesis signifies retribution and she is also the goddess of gladiatorial games (*munera*) (Hornum 1993). Perhaps the image implies not only that Eros must be punished but also that, like a gladiator, he is about to die. The figure of Eros with a pickaxe suggests that Nemesis has given Eros a more lenient sentence—just hard labor.

A large group of gemstones show a rustic shrine (*aedicula*) approached by Eros or a woman for the purpose of making an offering (Brogli 1996). An example with Psyche as suppliant is shown in 18. Psyche's position in front of the *aedicula*, which is built on stylized rocks, the

flowering branch that appears to be growing from the shrine's roof, and the rustic landscape, are all characteristic of these gems. The aedicula is an outdoor shrine to house a statue of Priapus, the son of Aphrodite and therefore Eros's brother. Priapus's principal function in this pastoral setting is to protect a field or garden from thieves with his monstrous erect penis as a weapon. Offerings are made to ensure that he does his job (O'Conner 1989). But, protection against thieves does not seem to be a likely explanation for the gems in this group. A more plausible function is as charms to prevent (or cure) impotence, in accordance with poems 34 and 37 of *Corpus Priapeorum* (O'Conner 1989:129-30). This interpretation, which understands these gems as medical magic, makes Eros (or Psyche) only a suppliant or intercessor for the impotent possessor of the ringstone and serves to emphasize the remarkable fact that Eros is rarely directly concerned with the physical machinery of love-making (Clarke 1998:47-48 and 59-118).

Eros as Bringer of Abundance and Bliss

The image of Eros emerging from the calyx of a flower is readily interpreted as a symbol of creation, birth, Dionysiac enthusiasm and abundance, and, possibly, of sexual arousal (Jucker 1961). The epiphany of a god or goddess from a flower occurs in vase painting, altars, and reliefs from Hellenistic Pergamum to Greek Italy (Catriota 1995:58-86). The image of the infant Harpocrates seated on a lotus—signifying the quotidian birth of the universe (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 11,355B)—is often seen in small bronzes, terracottas of Roman Egypt, and engraved gems. The image of the Egyptian god came to Rome at least as early as the first century B.C. (Tran Tam Tinh 1964; Kondoleon 1994; 191-229). Because the theonomous tendril represents the good and blissful life (Catriota 1995:58-86, 170-74), it was inevitably also used to represent death, with the implied wish that the deceased would be born again into a happy and bountiful hereafter. The glass paste intaglio (19) is therefore multi-valent: it could signify an amorous wish to begin a love affair (Eros grabs hold of Psyche) or a pious eschatological prayer for the deceased who is about to recapture his soul as an immortal in his new and bountiful life to come.

On sarcophagi, various retinues of celebrants that accompany a god (*thiasoi*) also signify the wish that the deceased reach paradise

(Turcan:587-88; Huskinson 1996:45-46). As with several of the other gems in the collection, Eros is shown as either a terrestrial or marine celebrant (20 and 21), which can mean either bliss in this life or bliss in the hereafter. The double flute is an instrument appropriate for the symposium, and it is played by members of the retinue accompanying the drunken Dionysus. Representations of *thiasoi* occur in mosaics on floors of dining areas (Dunbabin 1978:181-82; Kondoleon 1995: 191-229) presumably to suggest that the host and his guests eat, drink, and be as blissful as the god's revelers. Marine *thiasoi* can accompany Dionysus but usually celebrate Poseidon and Thetis, as in an important statuary group by Skopas (Pliny *NH* 36, 25) that represented a procession accompanying the slain Achilles to his own Isle of the Blessed in the Black Sea (Lattimore 1976:13-27).

Intaglios 22 and 23, which show Erotes fishing or crabbing, also express wished-for bounty. Both sporting images are incorporated into pastoral wall paintings and mosaic floors, typically for baths (see Dunbabin:206) showing a great crowd of Erotes fishing the sea from the shore or from boats. They also are reminiscent of river scenes, especially of the Nile, showing the god Nilus with his 16 children climbing all over him. Although the children represent the 16 cubits of the Nile, the scene conveys fecundity and abundance. These devices indicate both carefree happiness and nature's inexhaustible abundance.

Eros as Death

The Eros with crossed legs, asleep and leaning on an inverted torch (24) occurs with great frequency in funerary art (McCann 1978:51-52; Toynbee 1934/1967:212-30; Hartmann 1969). The image has been interpreted in two ways, either as Eros representing Death itself or as Eros mourning the lost life of the deceased. Renaissance Neoplatonists (Wind 1968:152-70; Lessing (1969/1962:1769) held the first view, modern scholars the second (e.g. Cumont 1942/1966:409-12). It is clear, however, that the device does not represent Thanatos, whose iconography and attributes are quite different (*LIMC*, s. v. "Thanatos," 7, 1:904-8 [Bazant]). The distinctive features of this Eros are vigilant sleep, an inverted (and sometimes extinguished) torch, and crossed legs.

All but the crossed legs are intuitively and easily explained. Sleep is universally associated with death (Homer, *Iliad*, xvi, 681, 2). Eros's

state of consciousness between sleep and wakefulness is reminiscent of mourning women on Attic tombs of the fourth century who crouch cross-legged and express intense devotion (Collignon 1911:203-14). The burning torch, signifying love, ardor, and life, is carried upright by Eros in vase paintings and other scenes, particularly those representing weddings, but downward and extinguished for death.

Philostrates (*Imag.* I 2) describes a painting of Comus, the personification of the revel, at a wedding feast. He stands before the chamber of the newly-weds, flushed with wine, but asleep. His torch has slipped from his hand, and, in order not to be burned, he crosses his legs. The most obvious interpretation of the inverted torch in funerary art is that it signifies the end of love, ardor, and life. Similarly, the inverted club of Heracles (Bayet 1922), intaglio 25, indicates that life's labors are finished. In funerary art, Eros appears with the attributes of Heracles or at rest on the skin of the Nemean lion. Cumont (1942/1966:408) proposes that, like the most celebrated hero, the deceased can expect a glorious apotheosis to follow a brief, blissful rest.

No convincing explanation of the crossed legs is available. A practical explanation is to ensure that the beholder realizes that the figure depicted is leaning, since the position is difficult to assume without support. Satyrs are often shown with legs crossed, possibly because of Praxiteles' statue of a satyr resting against the trunk of a tree (there is a Roman copy of the statue in the Capitoline Museum, Rome). Cross-legged shepherds lean on their staffs and look serenely at their flock. Pan also is shown cross-legged. On coins of Caesarea Panias, a cross-legged Pan leans on a tree-trunk to play a flute (*SNGANS* 6: Marcus Aurelius 861, 862, 863; Septimius Severus 864; Caracalla 870, 871; Elagabalus 881, 883, 884, 885; Julia Maesa 886, 887, 888; and Julia Soamias 887; see reverse A, a bronze of Plautilla (A.D. 202-5). The figure almost certainly was a statue celebrating the pseudo-eponymous genius of the city. Later coins in this series show the statue within a grotto enclosed in a colonnade (representing the sacred precinct Price and Trell 1977). In the description of intaglio 1, Pothos crosses his legs and leans on a staff. To explain why the later copies of the Pothos are so "wildly off-balance," Andrew Stewart 1990:184 suggests that the original leaned directly on a statue of Aphrodite, as described in the fragment of Alkman (361), "In limb-relaxing Pothos he looks/more



reverse A

meltingly than Sleep and Death." By this argument, all derivative images were made cross-legged in ignorance, since the original configuration had been forgotten.

Clearly the stance signifies more than that the subject is relaxed. Pliny remarks (*NH* 28, 59) that crossing fingers or legs is regarded as sorcery and was forbidden at councils of war or policy because it impeded the transaction of business. Presumably the stance was like crossing one's fingers while making a promise. The two torchbearers in the Mithraic tauroctony stand cross-legged on either side of the bull that Mithras is slaying, Cautopates with ignited torch held down and Cautes with torch upright. These figures, both of whom are wide awake, are thought to represent the autumn and spring equinoxes. (Ulansey 1989:112-16). It has been suggested that the cross-legged position represents the cross (*chi*) described by Plato (*Timaeus* 36b) that is formed by the celestial equator and the zodiac and that intersects at the equinox (Deman 2:514-17). It is uncertain whether these examples of the cross-legged stance are related, but they suggest that the posture might have magical and possibly cosmic significance.

What is the origin of the cross-legged Eros with the inverted torch? Most writers follow Collignon (1911:329-39), who asserted that because of a direct stylistic tie with terracottas buried in tombs of Asia Minor, particularly Myrina, this type originated in Hellenistic art. But the Louvre's extensive Myrina collection contains only one figurine and a fragment of another of this type, both of which date to the first century B.C. (Mollard-Besques 1965: nos. 683 and 1123). Representations on engraved gems beginning in the first century A.D. appear to be the earliest widespread use of the device. At the end of the century, corresponding to the greater use of sarcophagi for interment, the depiction becomes increasingly common. From the mid-second century (from the reign of Antoninus Pius to that of Caracalla), several cities



reverse B

in the east (in Moesia, Thrace, Bithynia, Phrygia, and Caria), notably Aphrodisias, issued coins showing the cross-legged Eros on the reverse (Riggauer 1881:72-100; McDonald 1992:106, type 120; see reverse B, a bronze of Geta as Caesar, A.D. 198-200, from Pautalia Thrace). It is tempting to suggest that these coins commemorate a lost cult statue representing a cycle that originated in Persia involving a goddess equivalent to Aphrodite and her dying son or lover. Thus, the original name of Aphrodisias was Ninoé and was consecrated to Nina-Ishtar, the goddess of Love and War (Laumonier 1958:478-500). Evidence against this idea, however, is that during this period these same cities also issued coins with many other novel or foreign gods (for example, Harpocrates, Helios, Isis, Men, and Serapis).

For the most part, the Romans appear to have used their ringstones during life, judging from ancient sources (Henig 1997:88-106) and from archaeological finds, notably baths where they are found in abundance (Zienkiewicz 1986:117-45; Henig 1988:27-35). In contrast, gems showing a cross-legged Eros with inverted torch are likely to have been made and worn as funerary jewelry. Several pairs of cameos carved with this device and set in gold earrings have been found with one Eros matching the mirror image of the other. The pair in the Hermitage (Neverov 1988:372/373) were excavated in a tomb in Chersonesus. Use of this Eros on personal jewelry supports the idea that the device is a representation of Death as the beloved rather than of Eros mourner of the dead.

CATALOGUE

Intaglios either are engraved in stone, glass, or metal or are cast in glass paste. Unfortunately, in several comparanda, the material was not indicated. The word *stone* indicates that the gem is not glass, while a question mark (?) indicates that the material is not known.

The size of a gem is given in millimeters. The long axis appears first, then the transverse axis, and finally the thickness. For shape, I have used John Boardman and Erika Zwierlein-Diehl's system as described by Henig in *Fitzwilliam*, pp. xxiv-xxv. The letters A, B, and C describe the surface curve, while an F indicates a flat surface. The number that follows indicates the general shape of the profile of the intaglio. The description of the device is as it would appear in an impression, as are the plates which are enlarged about 3x. This is followed by a list of other similar pieces. Precise dating of Roman intaglios is notoriously difficult. Almost all of the gems date from the mid-first century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D. The specific dates given in this catalogue, which are tentative at best, are based on style, popularity of the particular device, and the drill technique, following Maaskant-Kleibrink in *Hague*. The date is followed by a citation of any previous publication of the object and the ANS identification number. The intaglios were deposited at the Society during the first half of the twentieth century. Duffield Osborne, who died in 1917, left 303 gems and the rest of the collection, 226 gems, was given to the Society by Edward T. Newell. Most of the gems probably originated in the eastern part of the Empire.

Frequency of Eros on Gems from Archaeological Sites

	Eros % of Deities	Deities % of total	Total
Britain	15*	32	1087
Xanten I	21*	38	253
Xanten II	20*	41	398
Luxembourg	9	14	166
Gaule	19*	25	1015
Naples I	19*	25	339
Aquileia	18*	30	1573
Caesarea	10	44	165
Cyrene	12	22	1122+

*Most frequent of the gods.

+ A significant number of the seal impressions in the archive were not legible. Only legible impressions are counted here.

1. *Eros as Pothos*. Glass paste. 1.2 x 1 x 0.2. F1.

Eros naked and with long hair faces right, his left leg crossed over his right; he leans on a decorated staff, which he holds at its middle with his right hand; his left arm is extended to hold the upper part of the staff. Groundline. The staff appears to be made of two symmetrical longitudinal components. On other gems this staff has been called a double thyrsus. The meanings of crossed legs are discussed above (see 24 and 25 below).

AG XLIII, 52 (nicolo); *Beschreib.* 3779 (paste), 8199, 8200 (nicolos); *Bonn* 46 (lapis); Damascus Museum 365 (seal impression in LIMC s. v. "Eros," 3, 2, no. 64; Fossing 783 (plasma); *Hague* 938 (agate); *Britain* 111 (nicolo); *Köln* 49 (nicolo); Lippold XXVIII, 8 (paste); *Munich* II/1 47, 589 (carnelian); *Munich* I/2, 1051 (paste); *Welcome* 47 (glass); *Würzburg* 194 (sardonyx).

Last quarter of the first century B.C. 35547.

2. *Eros Standing with Lyre Resting on a Column*. Carnelian. 1.3 x 1.1 x 0.25. A4.

Eros wearing a long mantle stands right holding a lyre supported by a short column. Groundline. The image is derived from the Apollo kitheroïdes of Skopas, and is featured prominently in Octavian's coinage after Actium, as well as in Nero's. (Bieber: 108-10). Skopas's statue was set up on the Palatine during the reign of Augustus (Pliny *NH* 36, 25). The lyre accompanied recitations of serious poetry.

AG XXVI, 6 (paste), XLIII, 39 (amethyst); *Beschreib.* 1577 (paste) no column for lyre, Eros seated, 1583 (paste) no column, 3709 (paste) Eros seated, 7444, 7445 (carnelian); *BMGems* 1476 (sard); *Göttingen* 132, 832 (paste), Eros seated; *Hannover* 132 (paste) seated = AG XXVI, 6; *Kassel* 34 (nicolo); *Munich* I/1, 546 (granite) seated; Richter II, 149 (amethyst); *Xanten* II, 25 (carnelian).

First to second century A.D. 35538.

3. *Eros Walking with Lyre*. Carnelian. 0.9 x 0.7 x 0.2. F1. Chipped.

Eros naked walks right holding lyre.

AG XXV, 8 (sardonyx), another E. holds a dove; *Beschreib.* 941 (paste); *BMGems* 1510 (sard), 1215, 2876 (pastes); *Content* 97 (cameo);

DL 391 (chalcedony); *Fossing* 770, 771 (pastes); *Gadara* 170 (sardonyx); *Getty* 469 (clay seal); *Gramatopol* 285 (carnelian); *Hague* 381 (carnelian), 480, 507 (plasma); *MMA* 305 (agate); Münz. u. Med. (Sonderliste Q, November 1976) 106 (cameo); *Naples* I, 25 (topaz); *Wien* II, 1057 (banded agate).

Second half of first century B.C. 36805.

4. *Eros as Tragic Poet.* Carnelian, 1.3 x 1.0 x 0.25, F6. Chipped.

Eros naked and stepping right rests a mask on a column with his right hand and holds a *pedum* in his left. His expression is one of awe or inspiration. Groundline. The *pedum*, an attribute of Dionysus, often is used to denote an association with the theater. Because he is not wearing a stage costume, Eros is not meant to be an actor. The device possibly is derived from a painting of the mid-second century poet, Philikos, by Protogenes (Pliny, *NH*, 35, 106).

Aquileia 336 (red jasper); *Beschreib.* 1114 (granite), 1595, 1599, 1600, 3727-29 (pastes), 8202 (nicolo); *BMGems*, 2900 (paste); *Gadara* 172 (carnelian); *Getty* 360 (red jasper); *Hague* 684 (not Eros but an actor, plasma); *Britain*: 684 (plasma); *Munich* I/3 2195 (carnelian); *Princeton* 83 (carnelian); *Sternberg* XXV, Nov. 1991, 736 (nicolo) Eros crouching.

Second half of first century B.C. 35542

5. *Eros Offers Venus a Helmet.* Carnelian. 1.2 x 1.0 x 0.3. F1. Chipped.

Venus naked seen from behind leans with her right arm on a short column; her left arm is outstretched to receive a helmet offered up to her by Eros who stands at her right. Groundline. The type is from statues of Venus Victrix, adopted by Julius Caesar and Augustus as their personal ancestor.

AG LXIV, 77 (prase); *Bari* 7 (heliotrope); *Beschreib.* 2393 (Eros holds mirror); *BMGems* 2812 (paste), 3735 (paste cameo); *Bonn* 3 holds a thyrsus (banded agate); *Dalmatia* 16 (carnelian); *Fossing* 712 (carnelian); *Getty* 244 (amethyst), 245 (plasma), 246 (nicolo), 247 (plasma); *Hague* 531 (plasma); *Hannover* 798 (burnt jasper); *MMA* 301) heliotrope; *Munich* I/3, 2282 (carnelian), 2494 (plasma); *Wien* II 1476 (plasma); *Würzburg* 333 (carnelian).

First century A.D. 35635.

6. *Eros Wrestling*. Carnelian. 1.1 x 1.0 x 0.2. F1. Chipped.

Eros left naked wrestles with an apteric counterpart who appears to be losing the fight.

AG LII, 30 (?); *Aquileia* 345 (carnelian), 346 (black jasper), 347 (burnt sard), 348 (red jasper), 349 (quartz), 350, 351 (carnelians); *Beschreib.* 1669 (paste), 3049 (carnelian), 3766 (paste), 6796, 7496-7505 (carnelians), 7506, 7507 (sardonyx); *Bonn*, 94 (sard); *BMGems* 1525- (both boys without wings) 1527 (sards), 2913-2916 (pastes); *Braunschweig* 61 (carnelian); *de Clercq* 3114 (carnelian), 3115 (granite); Fossing 1733 (carnelian); *Gadara* 182 (carnelian); *Getty* 204 (carnelian—a third Eros is referee); *Göttingen* 141 (paste), 142 (carnelian); *Gaule* 378 (paste, wrestlers over a *dexterum iunctio*); *Hague* 208 (burnt carnelian) with third Eros holding palm for victor, 631 (carnelian, with palm, wreath, and herm) 902 (carnelian); *Hannover* 837, 1464-66 (carnelians), 838 (granite) with an amphora for the Athenian games; *Britain* Ap. 120 (carnelian); *Lewis* 59 (carnelian); *Leiden*, p. 26 (carnelian); Lippold XXVI, 2 (?); *Maddoli* 310-12; *Munich* I/2, 1183 (paste); Münz. u. Med. 379 June 1979, 80 (carnelian); *Naples* I, 36 (carnelian); *Naples* II, 119 (cameo); *Nürnberg* 9, 10 (carnelians); Righetti 58 (opaque yellow graystone); *Udine* 88 (carnelian, with vessel holding palm), 89 (heliotrope); *Wien* I, 438 (carnelian); *Wien* II, 1342 (amethyst); *Xanten* II, 23 (carnelian).

While mortal wrestlers always lack wings, it is quite rare for wings to be missing on only one of the wrestlers (*Hague* 631 and 902; in 902 one of the wrestlers is Pan). Many of the gems show herms, wreaths, and palms.

First to second century A.D. 35535.

7. *Eros Preparing Cock for a Fight/Bust of a Woman (Goddess?)*. Carnelian. 1.0 x 0.9 x 0.4 F1. Fragment, approximately half the stone remains. Engraved on both faces.

A. Face with greater area, figure along the long axis of the stone. Diademed and possibly filleted bust of a woman looking right, broken just below the shoulders. She wears a peplos with the fold of the right collar thicker than that of the left.

B. Eros guides a cock with his outstretched right arm. A mirror image of the rooster's head and neck faces left, presumably with

another Eros on the lost portion of the stone. Groundline. The cock fight is engraved at right angles to the woman on the A face. In antiquity, except for amulets, gem stones were rarely engraved on both sides, since the setting in a ring obscures the B face. There are a few examples in which the two sides are thematically related, *Lewis* 109, Fortuna and a kneeling worshipper./An inscribed prayer to the divinity; *Hannover* 1596, head of Commodus/Jupiter on an eagle, indicating the divinity and apotheosis of the emperor. In others there is no thematic link. The reverse of a carnelian intaglio showing cows and a suckling calf dating from the Augustan period (*Fitzwilliam* 225) was cut as a cameo showing Eros mourning, leaning on an inverted torch (*Fitzwilliam* 771). Because the A face of our gem is engraved in a finer style than is the B, Martin Henig suggests that the stone was re-cut at a later date.

For Eros, *Ashmolean* 355 (red jasper); *BMGems* 1528 (amethyst), 2917, 2918 (pastes).

A. Late first century A.D. B. second century A.D. 35797

8. *Eros Riding a Cock.* Chalcedony. 1.3 x 1.3 x 0.3. F8.

Eros naked sits astride a cock facing right, his right hand holding the cock's crop as reins. Groundline.

AG XLI, 47 (?), XLII, 32(?); *Beschreib.* 3836 (holding palm branch), 3761-65, 3837-40 (pastes), 7 524 (carnelian); *BMGems* 1528 (amethyst), 2918 (paste). Lippold XXVII, 13.

First to second century A.D. Osborne, pl. xviii, 9. 35529.

9. *Eros Riding a Mouse.* Carnelian. 1.1 x 1.1 x 0.5. B1

Eros naked facing right astride a mouse with his right hand wielding a large whip with a knob at its end and, in his left, holding the hairs on the mouse as reins. Groundline.

Beschreib. 3850 (paste); *Würzburg* 177 (carnelian).

If antique, second to first century B.C. This unusual gem may not be ancient. 35528.

10. *Eros Catching a Ball.* Carnelian. 1.1 x 1.1 x 0.5 B1.

Eros is running left, both arms outstretched. His left arm is slightly higher than his right, in order to catch a round object that is situated

in the field at the level of Eros's shoulder just to the left of his outstretched hands. The groundline extends only in front of Eros, indicating that he is running in that direction. It is possible that the round object is an indistinctly engraved butterfly; if so, the device is similar to carnelians in *Hannover* (271) and *Xanten II* (17) with numerous parallels listed there.

There are no parallels for a game with a ball. Several features of the device suggest that it may not be ancient: the wings are like those of an eagle, the head is not that of a child, and the rendering of the hands is unusual. But Furtwängler (*Beschreib.* 1112) published an Eros with similar features chasing a butterfly. There are many examples in south Italian vase painting from the fourth century B.C. of Eros playing ball; these images are associated with marriage.

If antique, second half of the first century B.C. 35546.

11. *Eros Dressing a Trophy.* Carnelian, 1.3 x 1.1 x 0.2, F6.

Eros naked, standing right, is about to place a sword in its sheath with his outstretched right hand on a trophy that already consists of a tree with a tunic and cuirass. Groundline.

Aquileia 3100 (carnelian); *Beschreib.* 3781 (paste), 7550 (sard), 7551-56 (carnelian). Two Erotes dress the trophy on 7554, and on 7556, Psyche sits as a captive with hands bound behind her back. *BMGems* 2910, 2911 (paste); *Braunschweig* 62 (carnelian); *De Clercq* 3100 (carnelian); *Gadara* 172 (carnelian); *Göttingen* 138 (paste); *Gaule* 366 (carnelian), 367 (stone), 380, 783 (carnelian); *Hague* 380 (carnelian); *Kassel* 36 (paste); *Lewis* 58 (carnelian) with two Erotes; *Maddoli* 231; *MMA* 306 (carnelian); *Munich I/1:360* (chalcedony); *Munich I/3*, 2552 (carnelian), 3083, 3084 (pastes); Münz. u. Med. 379, June 1976, 78 (carnelian); *Nürnberg* 14 (carnelian); Sternberg, XIX, Nov. 1987, 269 (banded agate); *Xanten II* 28 (onyx).

Second half of first century A.D. Osborne, pl. xxix, 8. 35531

12. *Eros Marches with Branches of Laurel.* Glass. 1.1 x 0.7 x 0.2. B3. Chipped on reverse.

Eros facing marches forward with laurel branches, one in his right hand held upward, the other in his left hand held downward. He appears to be wearing a coil or torque around his neck.

No parallels found. An apteric Nike advancing with olive branch held downward with her right hand appears on a stater from Terina, 480-460 BC (Kraay, p. 311, 2121.)

First to second century A.D. 35799.

13. *Eros Holding Lit Torch underneath Psyche.* Red jasper. 1.1 x 0.8 x 0.2. F1.

Eros standing right holds a burning torch in his right hand underneath a butterfly, which he holds high in his left hand.

Aquileia 291 (onyx), 292 (prase); *Beschreib.* 1640 (paste), 3065 (amethyst), 3885 (paste), 6775, 7483 (carnelians); *Bologna* 140 (carnelian); *Caesarea* 79 (carnelian); *BMGems* 1469 (sard); *Dalmatia* 56 (red jasper); *De Clercq* 3106 (red jasper); *Delatte and Derchain* 325 (hematite), 326 (black jasper); *Eichler-Kris* 44 (cameo); *Fitzwilliam* 396 (red jasper); *Fossing* 749 (paste); *Gadara* 168 (carnelian), 169 (sard); *Gramatopol* 175 (red jasper), 176 (carnelian); *Hague* 505 (plasma), 937 (nicolo), 443 (banded agate), 505 (plasma), 927 (nicolo); *Hannover* 850 (carnelian), 1469 (red jasper); *Britain* 118 (amethyst), 119 (banded agate); 120 (carnelian), 121 (nicolo), 122 (paste), 123 (onyx); *Lewis* 49 (carnelian); *Luxembourg* 3 (drawing, stone lost); *Marshall* 462 (paste); *Munich* I/3 2535 (carnelian); *Naples* I 28 (paste); *Niemagen* 124 (red jasper), 141 (carnelian); *Sternberg* XVII, May, 1986, 300 (amethyst); *Svoronos* 164 (stone) 919, 920 (cameos); *Udine* 80 (carnelian); *Wien* I 193 (carnelian); *Wien* II 1356 (topaz); 1358 (carnelian), 359 (nicolo); *Würzburg* 208 (sard), 209 (chalcedony); *Xanten* I 120 (nicolo).

Sometimes Eros is seated, as *BMGems* 2837, 2338, or uses the flame on an altar to burn Psyche, 2839, 2840 (all pastes).

Second century A.D. Osborne, pl. xxix, 9. 35541.

14. *Butterfly.* Carnelian. 1.0 x 0.9 x 0.25. B3.

A butterfly seen in profile is flying with wings slightly parted.

Beschreib. 2140 (amethyst); *Bari* 22 (carnelian); *BMGems* 2538 (sard), 2539 (plasma); 2540 (sard); 2541 (sardonyx) = *Marshall* 435; *DL* 103 (granite, with burning torch below), 106 (carnelian, with pupa and caterpillar); *Fitzwilliam* 155 (sard); *Göttingen* 547, 548 (pastes);

Hannover 1288 (carnelian); *Luni* 12 (carnelian); *Marshall* 481 (glass), 1178 (sard); *Munich* I/1, 429 (granite), 2071, 2072 (pastes); *Nürnberg* 359 (amethyst), 360 (red jasper); *Udine* 305, 306 (carnelian); *Wien* III, 1983 (sardonyx), 1984 (carnelian); *Xanten* I, 101 (carnelian); *Xanten* II, 17 (carnelian). 35007.

15. Rudder with Butterfly Carnelian. 1.3 x 0.9 x 0.2. F1.

Butterfly flies just above the governor of a steering oar.

AG XXIX, 12 (amethyst); Fossing 1540 (butterfly drawing back a bow, carnelian) *Munich* I/3, 2991 (carnelian). There are many examples of gems with rudders and other symbols: dolphin, palm, globe, thyrsus, club, kerykeon, star, cornucopia, birds, caduceus, scepter, wheat ears, sistrom, torch.

First century B.C. 35161.

16. Eros Bound before Nemesis. Carnelian. 1.2 x 1.1 x 0.2. F1. Chipped.

Eros naked is seated right with arms tied behind his back. He faces a pedestal or garlanded table on which is seated the figure of Nemesis as griffin. Groundline.

Caesarea 95 (red jasper); *De Clercq* 3110 (carnelian). *Hague* 245 (carnelian) and *Maddoli* 228 show Eros bound without Nemesis. Schwartz and Schwartz 58 (red jasper), 60 (green jasper), 61 (carnelian).

Second century A.D. 35543.

17. Eros Condemned to Work with a Pickaxe. Carnelian. 1.0 x 0.8 x 0.3. F1.

Eros naked leans right on a pickaxe. Groundline. While this depiction of Eros might possibly be a humorous genre piece like the Pompeian wall painting in the House of the Vettii (vi, 15, 1) which shows infant Cupids and Psyche carrying out the business of adult men and women, it is unlikely. On many other gems with this device Eros is chained and shackled. The tool is a mattock (*ligo*) used for digging out rocky soil (Horace, *Epode* 5, 30).

AG LVII, 9 (?); *Aquileia* 287 (burnt sard), 288 (red jasper); *Bari* 54 (carnelian); *Berlin* 449; *Beschreib.* 1113 (granite), 3891-94 (pastes),

7463-66 (two carnelian, one sard); Marshall 192 (engraved gold bezel; *BMGems* 1504 (nicolo), 1505 (sardonyx); *Dalmatia* 76 (red jasper); Fossing 756 (paste), 757 (carnelian); *Getty* 319 (chalcedony), 320 (carnelian); *Hannover* 265, 266 (pastes); *Britain* 134 (sard); *Hermitage* 61 (cameo); *Ionides* 63 (cameo); *Munich* I/1, 136 (paste); *Nürnberg* 18 (granite); Richter II, 652 (cameo, lost); *Sofia* 142 (carnelian); *Udine* 83 (carnelian); *Wien* III, 2785 (nicolo); *Würzburg* 212 (onyx), 213 (amethyst).

First to second century A.D. 35540.

18. *Psyche Approaches a Rustic Shrine.* Chalcedony, 1.3 x 1.2 x 0.1. F1.

Psyche is seen from behind dressed in an himation and with butterfly wings, approaching an *aedicula* perched at the top of stylized rocks. A flowering branch projects from the peaked roof of the shrine. Psyche possibly holds another flowering branch with her left hand. Groundline.

None with Psyche. With woman lacking wings: *Gaule* 523 (red jasper); *Munich* I/3, 3310 (paste) woman with two torches and a statue of Priapus in the shrine.

First to second century A.D. 36812.

19. *Eros Emerges from a Rose.* Paste. 1.4 x 0.7 x 0.2. A3.

Eros naked facing and arms crossed emerges from the calyx of a rose. He holds a butterfly in his right hand.

AG XXIV, 49, 50 (sardonyx) Eros shown from the knees up, emerging from a pomegranate blossom, XXVII, 1 (?) = Lippold XXVII, 11, exact parallel to ANS gem; *Beschreib.* 930 (sardonyx) 931 (paste) (Eros from calves up: *BMGems* 1021 (sard) from lotus flower; *Getty* 228 (banded agate) showing similar bust of Eros holding butterfly to his chest; *Munich* I 1187, 1188 (pastes); *Wien* I 431 (carnelian) from acanthus flower; *Würzburg* 206 (topaz) Eros springs naked from a lotus blossom to catch a butterfly in the field.

First century B.C. 35548.

20. *Eros Piping.* Prase. 1 x 0.6 x 0.2. B4.

Eros naked walks left, playing the double flute (*aulos*). Groundline.

Aquileia 286 (burnt sard); *Beschreib.* 3018 (amethyst); *BMGems* 2878, 2879 (pastes), 3468 (cameo); *DL* 213 (carnelian), 214 (prase), 215 (carnelian) Fossing 744 (paste); *Hermitage* 175 (cameo); *Wien* II 1354 (nicolo); *Würzburg* 200.

First to second century A.D. 35545.

- 21. *Eros Riding a Hippocamp.*** Carnelian. 2.0 x 0.9 x 0.25. A4. Broken, a fragment of the iron setting is still present.

Eros naked rides right on a seahorse, a tunny fish swims below.

AG XXIX, 23 (carnelian), XXXVII, 2 (paste), XL1, 40 (amethyst); *Aquileia* 275, 276 (red jasper). 277 (carnelian); *Beschreib.* 3037, 3038 (carnelian), 3039, 3040, 3805 (pastes), 6801 (amethyst), 7531 (carnelian); *BMGems* 1495, 1496 (amethyst), 2585 (sard), 2860, 3870 (pastes), 3397 (paste); *Braunschweig* 65 (carnelian); *Content* 110 (cameo); *Dalmatia* 78 (banded agate); *DL* 89 (carnelian), 217 (moonstone), 392 (carnelian); *Getty* 250 (banded agate), 322 (carnelian); *Gaule* 344 (nicolo), 345 (paste), 346 (red jasper), 347 (stone); *Hague* 703 (nicolo), 348 (paste), 904 (carnelian); *Hamburg* 825, 1459 (carnelian); *Britain* 127 (nicolo) 128, 129 (pastes); *Nürnberg* 25 (carnelian), 26 (chalcedony), 27 (carnelian); Righetti 27 (carnelian); *Princeton* 84, 85 (carnelians); *Wien* I 445 (chalcedony); *Wien* II 603 (glass), 1345 (carnelian); *Würzburg* 178 (plasma), 179 (nicolo), 180 (carnelian); *Xanten* II, 272 (red jasper).

First to second century A.D. 35195.

- 22. *Eros Fishing.*** Carnelian. 1.1 x 0.9 x 0.2. F1. Chipped.

Eros naked seated right on stylized rocks holds a rod and makes a loop in the line. Groundline.

AG XXVIII, 22(?), XLII, 29 = Lippold XXVI, 8 (?); *Beschreib.* 1630, seated on shell, 1631, in boat, left hand on governor of rudder, 1632, 1633, 3800-3801, seated on shell, 3802 (all pastes); *Bonn* 49 (carnelian); *DL* 216 (granite); Fossing 764 (carnelian); *Britain* 125 (red jasper); Nat. Museum of Hungary 23.1901.4, Budapest in *LIMC*, s. v. "Eros/

Amor, Cupido," 436 (carnelian); *Lewis* 56 (red jasper); *Udine* 86 (carnelian); *Wien* II 597 (glass); *Würzburg* 186 (paste).

First to second century A.D. 35530.

23. *Two Erotes Crabbing.* Carnelian. 1.3 x 1.3 x 0.3. F1. Chipped.

Two Erotes face forward. The one on the left is attacking a crab with a trident held high in his left hand. The crab's front claws extend upwards toward the tines of the trident. The Erotes each hold a similar oval object with their right hands. The chip masks what the Eros on the right is doing with his left arm. Groundline.

Aquileia 335 (carnelian); *Beschreib.* 3048 (amethyst), 7538 (carnelian); *Hannover* 829 (carnelian); *LIMC*, s. v. "Eros/Amor, Cupido," 442 (carnelian, unpublished Copenhagen, Mus. Nat. 9481); *Naples* II 121 (cameo) = Medici 55 plate 51; *Wien* I 436 (sardonyx), only a single Eros; *Würzburg* 187 (amethyst) with a statue of Priapus 188 (carnelian); 189 (eighteenth century drawing, stone now lost). The two uncertain objects held by both Erotes may be crab nets; alternatively, they may represent the flare of pine torches used for fishing with tridents (Aelian *V.H.* XII, 43; Oppian. *Hal.* V. 430).

Second century A.D. 35544.

24. *Eros Mourning with Torch.* Red jasper. 1.5 x 1.0 x 0.2. A4. Chipped.

Eros facing naked and sleeping with legs crossed leans on a burning (or extinguished) inverted torch, the end of which rests on a platform or altar. The other end of the torch is in Eros's left arm-pit; his right arm crosses his chest to brace the torch; his left arm is bent so that he can cup his chin in his left hand. Groundline.

AG XXXVI, 51 (amethyst), XLII, 43 (carnelian); *Beschreib.* 1635, 1636, 3711, 3712 (pastes), 7457-7461 (carnelian); *Berry* 224 (cameo); *Britain* 736 cameo; *BMGems* 3470, 3471 (cameos); *Content* 101-4, 105/106 (pair), 107-109 (cameos); *DL* 97 (carnelian), 98 (amethyst); *Evans* 69 (carnelian); *Fossing* 365, 760 (pastes), 1889 (cameo); *Getty* 449 (cameo); *Göttingen* 133 (nicolo); *Gramatopol* 282 (banded agate); *Hannover* 138 (carnelian), 264 (paste); *Hermitage* 367-71, 372-73 (pair), 374-75 (cameos); *Ionides* 63 (cameo); *Köln* 288 (cameo); *MMA* 304

(carnelian), 614 (glass cameo); *Munich* I/2 849 (carnelian); Münz. u. Med. 379, June 1976, 81 (red jasper), *Palestine* 44 (sardonyx), Sonderliste K, cameo, Sonderliste T. Oct. 1981, paste in child's ring; *Naples* II, 114 (cameo); *Sofia* 148, 149 (carnelian), 320 (cameo); Svoronos 917, 918 (stones); Sternberg XXIX, 30/31 Oct. 1995, 952 (engraved gold bezel; Frank Sternberg 7, Aug. 1995, 408 (cameo); Sternberg 10, June 1998, 726 (banded agate); *Wien* III, 2460 (cameo); *Xanten* I, 10 (paste).

First century A.D. Osborne, pl. xxiv, 9. 35794.

25. *Eros Mourning with the Club of Hercules.* Red jasper. 1.2 x 0.9 x 0.1. F1. Traces of iron ring on reverse.

Eros faces naked and sleeping with his legs crossed. With his right hand he holds the narrow end of an inverted club; the broad end rests on a platform or altar. Eros's left arm is bent so that his elbow rests on the upper end of the club; he holds his chin in his left hand. Ground-line.

Beschreib. 8205 (nicolo); *Hamburg* 56 (nicolo); *Munich* I/1, 548 (amethyst), 1/3, 2554 (carnelian).

First century A.D. 35537.

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Plate 4



1



2



3



4



5



6



7a



7b



8



9



10



11



12



13

Intaglios with Eros



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25



ENGRAVED GEMS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY III:
MALE DEITIES AND HEROES

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ENGRAVED GEMS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY III: MALE DEITIES AND HEROES

(PLATES 4–6)

HÉLÈNE GUIRAUD AND JAMES H. SCHWARTZ*

This article continues the series begun in 1979 (Schwartz and Schwartz 1979; Schwartz 1999) to publish the engraved gems of the Society: we catalogue 56 intaglios from the Roman period with devices that show figures at least one of which is a male deity or hero.¹ These devices occur frequently on intaglios dating from the first century BC to the beginning of the third century AD, representing almost half of the gems in published collections (Schwartz 1999: 25).

For the most part, these intaglios served as seals (Henig 1997): the image of Mercury, the god of commerce, for example, would be appropriate for merchants. They are also likely to have served as amulets or charms, each god providing specific protection: thus, Mercury for the merchant while traveling. During the Empire the various motifs became more generally familiar because of numerous representations in statues and reliefs, wall paintings, and perhaps most important, coin types. Also evident is the Roman appreciation and enthusiasm for elegant Hellenistic models.

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¹ Excluding Eros. Intaglios with female deities will follow in another article.

Most of the gems are engraved in carnelian of varying color. Although carnelian is the stone most favored, nicolo with its clear blue surface above a dark layer, jaspers both red and brown, amethyst, sardonyx, and agate were also used. Molded glass paste imitating precious stones is also quite frequent. Most of the gems in this group are oval in shape; only nos. 15 and 47 are exceptions. With carnelian the engraved surface is slightly curved to bring out the faint transparency of the stone. With more translucent stones like no. 32, the curve (form Cc) is much greater. On the other hand, the more opaque nicolo and jasper are cut on a flat surface. Stones like nicolo and sardonyx that have many superimposed layers of different color have bevelled exterior edges (forms F2, F3, F4, and Cc).

The dimensions of the intaglios in this collection correspond to what is usually seen in other collections. Judging by size, most are likely to have been set in rings. An exception is no. 10, a carnelian showing Jupiter, Mars, and Victory, which is considerably larger than the others and may have been used in a brooch or pendant.

As usual for most antique engraved stones, the provenance of these gems is unknown, all having been obtained from dealers in the first half of the twentieth century by Duffield Osborne (1912) and Edward Newell. Osborne wrote that dealers were his source; von der Osten, who published Newell's extensive collection of oriental seals (1934), also wrote that the seals were bought from dealers (or from other collectors who had bought from dealers), and therefore had no provenance. Although there is no mention of Newell's engraved Roman gems, it seems likely that they too were purchased.

There is no completely secure way to date the gems. Choice of stone can be used as one criterion, and shape provides another. For example, nicolo and jasper were popular in the second century AD, and greatly curved stones were fashionable during the Republic. Choice of device is also significant. Representations of Mars, Mercury, Harpocrates, and Bonus Eventus were more popular during the mid-imperial period than in the late Republic and early Empire. Nevertheless, almost all of the devices originated in the Hellenistic period (Plantzos 1999).

Analysis of engraving technique has developed during the past 30 years into a way to date intaglios. Despite some differences in termi-

nology,² several investigators have reached agreement on the dating of various engraving styles. The study of style is based upon an examination of the characteristic traces left by the engraver's drill. The time period for each style is quite broad, and it is likely that several techniques of engraving were in use at any one time.³ Therefore the system of dating proposed must be standardized using the very small number of specimens that are available from proved archeological contexts.

The gems catalogued here range in date from the last half of the first century BC to the third century AD. Some of them are closely related to reverse coin types, and were placed by Newell in the Society's cabinets along with the appropriate Roman provincial issues. Several of them may be copies after the antique done in modern times (up to the nineteenth century), however. The intaglios are engraved in several styles. Two styles were used during the period of the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire. The pellet style⁴ (second to first century BC) is characterized by small beads defining the outline of figures and their connection with objects. The modeling of bodies is usually flexible, the details of hair and clothing rendered with lines that are fine and steady. In the calligraphic style (first century BC),⁵ straight lines define clothing and the outlines of bodies that are often quite squat; sometimes the engraving technique is miniaturistic.

The other styles found on the intaglios catalogued here belong specifically to the Imperial period. In the modeled classical style⁶ (first century AD) the anatomy of bodies is emphasized in a realistic

² Taking into account the different terminologies used by E. Zwierlein-Diehl (1973, 1979), G. Sena Chiesa (1966), M. Maaskant-Kleibrink (1978), H. Guiraud (1988), and M. Henig (1994). See also Platz-Horster (1994: 33-40). For specific information about these styles, see Guiraud (1988:35-59).

³ For example, see the casket buried at Pompei in 79 AD that contained thirty stones engraved in very different styles (Pannuti 1975).

⁴ Italic Republican pellet style (Hague). Rundperlstil (Wien). Officine della Menade, di Ulisse, del Pegaso (Aquilaia).

⁵ Republican wheel style (Hague). Linearer Stil, kalligraphischer Stil (Wien). Officine del filosofo, delle offerte campestri, del citaredo (Aquilaia).

⁶ Imperial classicising style (Hague). Klassizistischer Stil (Wien). Officine classicistica, dei praxii (Aquilaia).

manner. Figures are draped to give the impression of volume. The classical linear style⁷ (first to second century AD) makes use of many fine grooves even if the bodies are drawn realistically. Grooves are used specifically to mark the outlines of faces (chin, lips, nose). In the simplified classical style (second century AD),⁸ the work of the fine drill is accentuated to outline clothing, but anatomical features are neglected and gestures accentuated. The smooth style⁹ (second to early third century AD) emphasizes the simplification of figures shown as cylinders without internal detail. Clothing is shown in even less detail. The figures engraved in the incoherent style¹⁰ (second to third century AD) lack realism: the grooves forming the bodies and clothing are put together haphazardly.

CATALOGUE

For each gem we note the ANS inventory number and the type of stone (for sardonyx the color of the surface is given). Shape is described in a now almost universally accepted code (Henig 1994); since the stones are almost all oval, the outline is noted only if it is different. Next we give the dimensions in millimeters, other identifying features, and any damage, as well as prior publication and date (almost all date from the first three centuries AD). The device is described as it appears on the gem. Next we comment briefly on theme and style. Because these devices occur with great frequency on gems of the Roman period, we cite parallels only from recently published catalogues, which usually have extensive lists of similar examples. All images in the plates are reproduced at 2.5× enlargement, and all are images of the gem itself except for nos. 33 and 43, for which casts provided clearer illustrations.

⁷ Imperial small grooves style (Hague). Klassizistisch-linearer Stil (Wien). Officine della sfinge A and B (Aquilaia).

⁸ Imperial round head style and cap-with-rim style (Hague). Flachperlstil (Wien). Officine della Nimfa, del Guerriero, di Iside (Aquilaia).

⁹ Imperial plain grooves style (Hague). Kleinteiliger Flachperlstil (Wien). Officine dei Dioscuri, delle linee grosse (Aquilaia).

¹⁰ Imperial incoherent style (Hague). Flüchtiger Stil (Wien). Officine delle linee grosse C (Aquilaia).

1. 0000.999.33936. Chalcedony. Ca4. $11.1 \times 8.5 \times 2.5$. Pierced for suspension through the head of the figure. Second century AD.

Jupiter partly draped sits on a stool (diphros), torso facing, with head in profile to the right. His raised right hand rests on a scepter. He holds a victoriola in his left hand. An eagle stands at his feet. Groundline.

This type, inspired by Phidias' cult statue at Olympia, occurs frequently on Roman imperial coins with the title Jupiter Victor and on gems, with or without an eagle. Cf. *Aquileia* nos. 2–4; *AGDS I.3* nos. 2454, 3017–3018; *AGDS IV* no. 1361; *Wien II* nos. 957, 1221–1223; *Fitzwilliam* no. 251; *Gadara* nos. 14–16.

Between the simplified classical and smooth styles. Cf. *Hague cap-with-rim* style, nos. 888, 903, 910, 912.

2. 0000.999.33835. Red jasper. F1. $12 \times 11 \times 3$. Chip in the upper part of the stone. Second century AD.

Jupiter with a himation draped over his legs sits on a throne, torso facing and head turned right. His raised right hand leans on a scepter. He holds a thunderbolt in his left hand. One eagle stands in front of the throne, another behind. Groundline. Inscription: **RO** to the right behind the throne, **VI** under the groundline.

The motif of the Capitoline Jupiter or Jupiter Custos is familiar from imperial coinage. Single eagles or stars occur on intaglios. See *AGDS IV* nos. 1362–1364; *Wien II* nos. 958, 1230–1231; *Getty* no. 263.

Simplified classical style. Cf. *Hague cap-with-rim* style.

3. 0000.999.33879. Chalcedony. Ca2. $14 \times 10.5 \times 4.2$. Second century AD.

Jupiter with a himation draped over his legs sits on a throne, his head turned in profile to the right. His raised right hand rests on a scepter; he extends a patera with his left hand. An eagle stands at his feet.

This motif occurs only late on imperial coinage (Severan period) but is frequent on gems. See *Aquileia* nos. 9–15; *AGDS IV* nos. 1365–1366; *Wien II* nos. 1224–1228; *Getty* nos. 262, 265–266; *Fitzwilliam* nos. 253–256.

Smooth classical style. Cf. *Hague* plain grooves style; Fitzwilliam no. 255.

4. 0000.999.33931. Carnelian. F6. $19 \times 14.9 \times 4$. Second to third century AD.

Jupiter, a himation draped over his legs, sits on a stool with his head in profile to the left. His raised left hand leans on a scepter; he holds two ears of wheat in his right hand. Groundline.

The device represents Zeus Arotrios, who appears infrequently in coinage (Domitian and Trajan) but often on gems. See *Aquileia* no. 6; *AGDS IV* no. 1378; *Wien II* no. 1232; *Fitzwilliam* no. 236. Incoherent style. Cf. *Hague* no. 982, incoherent grooves style; *Aquileia*, Officina delle linee grosse, pl. xciii.

5. 0000.999.33801. Chalcedony. Cb1. $13.8 \times 10.5 \times 4.1$. Second century AD.

Jupiter, a himation draped over his legs, sits on a throne, his head turned to the right. His raised right hand rests on a scepter; his extended left hand supports a bust with a mural crown personifying a city. Groundline.

Modeled classical style. Cf. *Fitzwilliam* no. 254.

6. 0000.999.33854. Carnelian. Ca5. $17 \times 12 \times 2.8$. Chip in the lower part of the stone. Second century AD.

On the upper part of the gem a statue of Jupiter of Heliopolis is shown standing and facing; he wears a kalathos on his head and holds a whip in his raised left hand and two ears of wheat in his right. Two symmetrical humped bulls stand behind him. In the field to the left, a crescent moon; to the right, a six-pointed star. In the lower part of the gem, an eagle stands with outstretched wings.

This is the traditional image of the Syrian god, who is rarely seen with an eagle (on statues of the god, however, the eagle appears behind Jupiter). The astral signs express the cosmic power of the god (Haggard 1977), cf. *LIMC IV* s.v. Heliopolitani dei, intaglios 10–25 (our gem closely resembles no. 17 in this list). See (without an eagle) *Aquileia* no. 33; *AGDS IV* no. 1382; *Wien II* no. 1235; *Gadara* nos 23, 24.

Simplified classical style. Cf. *Hague* plain grooves style.

7. 0000.999.33939. Carnelian. Ca5. 12 × 10 × 4. Second century AD.

On the left, Jupiter with a himation draped over his legs sits on a stool. He appears in three-quarter view, his head turned toward the center. His raised right hand leans on a scepter; he extends his left hand. An eagle stands at his feet. To the right, Sol (Helios) stands facing naked, his radiating head turned toward the center, a whip and a bit of cloth against his right arm. His left hand is raised. Groundline. Inscription to the right KAN; to the left, ARA*; below, TOC.

Other example with small variations: *AGDS I.3* no. 2461.

Simplified classical style. Cf. *Hague* no. 896, cap-with-rim style.

8. 0000.999.33791. Carnelian. P1. 11.5 × 11.1 × 3.0. Chip in the lower part of the stone. Second century AD.

Jupiter with a loose himation draped over his legs sits on a throne to the left, his head turned to the center; his elevated right hand rests on a scepter, his extended left hand supports an eagle. To the right Mercury stands naked and facing, his head in profile turned to the center, supporting a caduceus on his left arm over which a chlamys is draped. He holds a purse in his right hand. Groundline. Inscription above, between the two gods: ΛΨΔ.

Other examples with some variations in the objects: *Aquileia* nos. 37, 206; *Wien II* no. 1194.

Between the linear classical and simplified classical styles. Cf. *Hague* nos. 742, 754, 770, 773, small grooves style.

9. 0000.999.33705. Carnelian. Ca4. 14.8 × 12 × 3.2. A chip on the right side of the stone. Second to third century AD.

On the left, Jupiter seen in three-quarter view sits on a stool, his head turned toward the center, his raised right hand leaning on a scepter (that is not visible) and his left hand extended to hold two ears of wheat. On the right, Victory clothed in a chiton stands in profile to the center, extending a wreath with her left hand; a palm branch is held against her right shoulder. Groundline beneath Jupiter.

Other examples, with some variation in the objects: *Gadara* no. 17; *Wien II* no. 1195.

Between the linear classical and incoherent styles. Cf. *Hague* no. 972, rigid chin-mouth-nose style.

10. 0000.999.33880. Carnelian. F1. $22 \times 16 \times 5.5$. Second century AD.

A divine triad. Mars Ultor stands to the left, his face turned to the center, wearing helmet, cuirass, and boots. His raised right hand leans on a scepter, his left hand balances a shield at his feet. In the center, Jupiter partly draped with a mantle sits on a stool. He is seen in three-quarter view, his head turned right; his raised right hand leans on a scepter, and he extends a thunderbolt with his left hand. An eagle stands by his feet. To the right, Victory clothed in a chiton stands in profile facing toward the center. She holds a crowning wreath in her upraised left hand. A palm branch rests against her right shoulder. Groundline under Jupiter and Mars.

Associations among the gods occur with many variations. An identical example is *LIMC* VIII s.v. Zeus-Iuppiter no. 170.

Simplified classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 845, 847, chin-mouth-nose style.

11. 0000.999.33932. Chalcedony. Cb7. $14 \times 9.8 \times 4.5$. First century AD.

A male figure, possibly Sarapis, leaning on his right elbow with a himation draped over his legs, reclines on a couch turned toward the right. He wears a kalathos and holds a scepter with his right arm and two ears of wheat in his left hand. Groundline.

This device is closest to motifs representing a god of abundance (like Tellus) or river gods (like the Nile). Those representations usually show a mature male figure reclining directly on the earth, elbow resting on an urn from which water flows, but the figures do not wear kalathoi. See *Wien II* no. 977 (Tellus), 1255 (a river god). For comparison: *LIMC* VII s.v. Sarapis no. 71, Egyptian terracotta relief of Sarapis reclining on a bed holding a fan; *LIMC* VIII s.v. Zeus no. 210, relief from the fourth century BC, Zeus reclining with cornucopia and patera.

Modeled classical style. Cf. *Hague*, classicizing style, nos. 477, 626.

12. 0000.999.33881. Sardonyx (chestnut/white/chestnut). F3. $21.7 \times 17.3 \times 5.5$. Second to third century AD.

The upper part of the gem shows the radiate head of Helios/Sarapis in profile turned to the left, wearing a kalathos. In the field before him, cornucopiae. Beneath the head, an unidentified animal (ram, lion?) stands left. Groundline.

Because of its pantheistic attributes, the head might represent several gods (Helios, Sarapis, and, with the ram's horns, Ammon). Cf. *LIMC* VII s.v. Sarapis no. 105, coins of Alexandria from the reign of Hadrian with head of Sarapis and a ram below. Intaglios: *Wien II* no. 1251 (Sarapis Pantheus); *Gadara* no. 28 for the bust of Heliosarapis; *Gadara* nos. 34–36 and *Fitzwilliam* no. 312 for Sarapis over an eagle with wings outspread and flanked by standards.

- 13.** 0000.999.53001. Carnelian. F1. 14.3 × 10.2 × 3.1. First to second century AD.

Draped bust of (Jupiter) Sarapis. His bearded head is turned in profile to the left. A slender ribbon binds his hair, and he wears a kalathos decked with leaves as a skull cap.

The intaglio shows the traditional image of (Jupiter) Sarapis, which appears at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (*LIMC* VII s.v. Sarapis, pp. 665–692), and which frequently reappears in many different ways on gems during the Roman period. Cf. *Fitzwilliam* nos. 309–311; *Getty* no. 336 (with Isis); *Wien II* nos. 1242–1246; Hornbostel (1973).

Classical linear style.

- 14.** 0000.999.33790. Carnelian. F1. 10 × 6.8 × 3.5. Osborne (1912: pl. XXIII, 20). First century AD.

Neptune stands naked facing, his head turned to the right. His raised right hand holds a trident; with his left hand he supports a dolphin balanced on its snout. Groundline.

Representations of Neptune on gems are rare. They usually show the god with his foot up on a prow or rock. Cf. *Aquileia* no. 48; with variation in position, *AGDS I.3* no. 2293; *Getty* no. 268. For the same pose on a coin, see *LIMC* VII s.v. Poseidon no. 97 (third century BC); on a statuette, *LIMC* VII s.v. Poseidon no. 25 (second century BC).

Modeled classical style. Cf. *Hague* no. 474, classicizing style.

15. 0000.999.33882. Carnelian. F6. Quadrangular with rounded corners. 12.5 × 10.5 × 3.5. First century BC.

Neptune stands naked, head in profile, his torso turned to the left. His right foot rests on a small rock; he rests his left arm on his elevated right knee. Part of a chlamys falls behind him. A trident is placed obliquely behind the god. Groundline. The image is surrounded by sharp, closely spaced hatching.

The figure was possibly inspired by a statue by Lysippus (but see Bartman 1992: 102–146): many intaglios show the figure of Neptune with his body not turned quite so far and his right arm positioned along his body. Cf. *AGDS I.2* no. 721; *Fitzwilliam* no. 237. Calligraphic style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 277, 335, Republican wheel style; *Fitzwilliam* no. 202. The hatching, inspired by Etruscan engraving, also appears on some pieces at the end of the first century BC: *Fitzwilliam* no. 174.

16. 0000.999.35105. Carnelian. F1. 13.8 × 11.2 × 4. Osborne (1912: pl. XXVI, 3). First century BC to first century AD.

A Triton is shown in profile to the left, a raised steering oar rests against his left arm. In his right hand he balances a dolphin by its snout.

The Triton is an uncommon image. His attributes can vary: in addition to the dolphin, they include the steering oar, keel, trophy, trident, shell, or fish. Cf. *Aquileia* no. 521; *Wien I* no. 253; *Hague* no. 355, 398; *Dalmatia* no. 132.

Between the calligraphic and classical linear styles. Cf. *Hague* nos. 342, 354, Republican wheel style and small groove style.

17. 0000.999.36774. Banded agate. C3d. 11.5 × 11.0 × 4.0. First century BC to first century AD.

Apollo with long hair stands naked in profile to the left. He holds a bow and arrow in his left hand, which is raised slightly. With his right hand he supports the forelegs of a stag that stands upright on its hind legs.

This image of Apollo originated in archaic Greek statues (*LIMC II* s.v. Apollon no. 332 for Apollo of Kanachos; Richter 1960). For more recent motifs, see *Lewis* no. 15; *LIMC II* s.v. Apollon-Apollo

nos. 159–160. The pellet style of the engraving and the nature and shape of the stone date to the end of the Republic.

- 18.** 0000.999.35113. Carnelian. Ca4. $14.6 \times 11 \times 4.5$. End of the first century BC to first century AD.

Apollo, turned in profile to the left, a himation draped loosely across his leg, sits on a stool. His left elbow leans on a kithara; a quiver filled with arrows is strapped to his back. In his right hand he holds a patera from which a serpent drinks. The serpent extends its head from a tripod situated to Apollo's left. Further to the left is a laurel tree. Groundline.

A complex scene in the style of Augustan landscape wall-painting. Cf. *Aquileia* no. 68; *Lewis* no. 11; *Hague* no. 478.

Modeled classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 477, 479, classicizing style.

- 19.** 0000.999.33830. Carnelian. F1. $11.1 \times 8 \times 2$. First to second century AD.

Apollo stands naked, his body facing and his head in profile to the right. His right elbow leans on a small column behind which stands a tripod. In his left hand, he holds a branch of a laurel tree with leaves. Groundline.

This traditional representation of Apollo is inspired by statues. The position of the branch, elevated or lowered, varies. Cf. *Aquileia* nos. 54, 61; *Wien I* no. 409; *Hague* no. 71; *DL* nos. 427–430; *Fitzwilliam* no. 264.

Smooth style. Cf. *Hague* no. 822, round-head style, nos. 946–947, plain grooves style; *Fitzwilliam* no. 264.

- 20.** 0000.999.33857. Carnelian. F1. $15.5 \times 10.5 \times$ (stone broken). In a modern setting. Probably not ancient.

Male head (Apollo?) in profile to the left. The hair, encircled by a laurel fillet, is mid-length with curls.

In an ancient style. *AGDS IV* no. 1032 (Apollo?); *Wien II* no. 1336 (Genius?), 1274 (more traditional representation of Apollo).

- 21.** 0000.999.33888. Carnelian. Ca4. $16.5 \times 12 \times 4$. Large chip on the left part of the stone. First to second century AD.

Helios drives a quadriga to the left. There is a crescent moon above the horses. Because of damage to the stone, we see only

the charioteer's head with radiate crown and the end of an extended arm; of the chariot only a wheel is visible. Groundline.

This is the traditional representation of Helios in his astral aspect as indicated by the crescent moon. Cf. *AGDS I.3* nos. 2650–2651; *Wien II* nos. 1258–1259; *Fitzwilliam* nos. 265–266.

Linear classical style. Cf. *Hague* no. 791, small grooves style; *Fitzwilliam* no. 266.

- 22.** 0000.999.43529. Carnelian. F7. 18.5 × 2.0 × 1.0. Second to third century AD.

A young cavalier, his cloak flying behind him, holds a double ax over his shoulder. The horse, in profile, strides left toward a cypress before which stands a flaming altar. Beyond the tree, a globe to the far left. Groundline.

The young cavalier is a local Asiatic divinity who appears as a reverse type on Roman provincial coins of a group of Lydian cities: Apollonia, Blandos, Mastaura, Mostene, Thyatiera, and Tomaris (Merlat 1960: 63). His name is Tyrimnos, and because he is athletic and young, he was equated with Apollo. On some coins he is also shown radiate, and therefore was equated with Helios as well (Cook 1914: 543–601). The iconography of Tyrimnos is primarily known from local Lydian coinage: *LIMC* VIII s.v. Tyrimnos, coins of the second century (as cavalier).

- 23.** 0000.999.33707. Carnelian. Ca4. 14.8 × 11.2 × 4.2. Osborne (1912: pl. XXIII, 23). Second to third century AD.

Mars Ultor stands facing, his helmeted head in profile to the right. He wears a short tunic, cuirass, and ankle boots. Behind him a paludamentum. His raised left hand leans against a lance; his lowered right hand rests on the rim of a shield, which is shown in profile.

This representation is particularly well established as Mars Ultor thanks to inscriptions on many imperial coins. Augustus, who built a new temple with a colossal cult statue, favored the title “Avenger” for the god in recognition of his victory at Philippi in 43 BC. A similar type occurs on other gems and statues, in which the god may appear naked or cuirassed. Cf. *Aquileia* no. 207;

AGDS III Göttingen no. 198, Kassel nos. 69–70; *DL* nos. 396–397; *Fitzwilliam* no. 271.

Incoherent style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 971, 974, rigid chin-mouth-nose style; 984, 985, incoherent grooves style.

24. 0000.999.33802. Carnelian. F1. 15 × 12.5 × 2.5. Chip on the upper right part of the gem. Osborne (1912: pl. XXIII, 22). First to second century AD.

Mars, naked and carrying a trophy over his right shoulder, marches left, his waist encircled by a loin-cloth (*subligaculum*) whose ends appear on either side of his body; he wears a helmet and ankle boots. In his left hand he holds a lance obliquely. Groundline.

Traditionally called Mars Gradivus, an old Roman god whose image is known from the end of the second century BC (*LIMC II* s.v. Ares-Mars no. 209, the god shown facing and not marching). The representation takes its present form (marching) in the second part of the first century AD on coins with several epithets: Victor, Pater. This is the usual type on gems: *Aquileia* nos. 221–225; *Wien I* no. 176 (first century BC); *Wien II* nos. 1283–1287; *Getty* nos. 357–358; *Fitzwilliam* no. 270; *Jerusalem* nos. 29–30.

Linear classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 667, 737, small grooves style.

25. 0000.999.33942. Chestnut-colored glass paste. F1. 14 × 10.8 × 2.2. Chip to the upper right. First to second century AD.

Same as preceding.

26. 0000.999.35114. Carnelian. Cb. 12.8 × 10 × (mounted in a modern setting). First to second century AD.

A warrior stands to the left facing, clothed in a short tunic and ankle boots. A sword and a chlamys rest against his right arm. A lance stands vertically in front of the warrior, and a trophy stands to his right. At his feet, a shield is placed vertically. Groundline.

Identification of this warrior as Mars is uncertain because the god is rarely shown facing (*LIMC II* s.v. Ares-Mars no. 245, coins of Severus). Nothing distinguishes this figure from an ordinary warrior: *Aquileia* no. 234; *Luni* no. 63; *Bonn* no. 60; *Wien II* no. 1280.

Smooth style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 950, 956, plain grooves style.

27. 0000.999.33810. Carnelian. F4. 18 × 12 × 2.8. Chip in the upper part of the stone. First to second century AD.

Mercury stands naked facing, his head in profile to the right, wearing a pileus (a brimless hat for traveling) and winged sandals. An upright caduceus rests against his right arm, on which a chlamys is draped. He holds up a purse with his left hand. Groundline.

Representations of Mercury were frequent on gems and small statues during the Roman period. The nine representations in this collection are an indication of the god's popularity. It is easy to explain Mercury's popularity since he was both the god of business and the protector of travelers. He also escorts the souls of the dead to the afterlife. Because he rarely was used as a reverse type in either imperial or provincial coinage from the first to the third centuries (with the exception of Hermanubis at the mint of Alexandria), Mercury's frequent appearance as a device on gems is likely to reflect his personal or private significance. Support for this idea is provided by the major exception—imperial coins of Marcus Aurelius for AD 172–174. Rather than reflecting the spirit of commerce, the figure of Mercury on both the silver and bronze issues is thought to honor the Egyptian god who had been invoked by the magician Arnouphis to cause the miracle of rain during Marcus' campaign in the land of the Quadi (Mattingly 1940/1968: cxxxix). His attributes vary: for example, the presence or absence of the cap and winged sandals and various animals: *Aquileia* no. 165–187; *Wien II* nos. 1296–1302; *Getty* nos. 255–256, 343; *Fitzwilliam* no. 260.

Between the modeled and simplified classical styles. Cf. *Hague* nos. 587, classicizing style (musculature), 822, round-head style (head).

28. 0000.999.33878. Carnelian. F1. 10.5 × 8.5 × 3. Second to third century AD.

Mercury stands as on the preceding gem, but without winged sandals.

Between the smooth and incoherent styles. Cf. *Hague* nos. 1010, 1029, incoherent style.

29. 0000.999.33829. Red jasper. F1. $11.1 \times 9.5 \times 2.8$. Second to third century AD.

Mercury stands facing as in the preceding gems, without winged sandals. At his feet to the left is a ram; to the right, a rooster. Groundline.

Cf. *AGDS I.2* nos. 1198–1199; *AGDS IV* no. 1436; *Wien II* no. 1308; *Fitzwilliam* no. 259.

Between the modeled and simplified classical styles. Cf. *Hague* no. 667, small grooves style.

30. 0000.999.33877. Carnelian. Ca4. $13.5 \times 10.5 \times 3$. Second century AD.

Mercury stands facing as on the preceding gems without winged sandals, but possibly wearing a winged cap on his head which is shown in profile toward the right. At his feet, a goat stands to the right and a rooster to the left. In front of the god's right shoulder is a turtle; a scorpion is just to the left of his right arm. Groundline.

Mercury is often accompanied by domestic animals that are symbols of abundance. He is also shown with the turtle, a reference to his exceptional intelligence and skillfulness, because he invented the lyre on the day of his birth, constructing it from the shell of a tortoise. Examples with four animals: *Aquileia* no. 191; *AGDS I.3* no. 3094; *Lewis* no. 34; *Fitzwilliam* no. 258.

Linear classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 742, small grooves style, 947, plain grooves style.

31. 0000.999.35112. Carnelian. Ca4. $11.8 \times 8.5 \times 3.5$. Second century AD.

Mercury naked is seated on a rock, his head in profile to the right, his right arm extended behind him to lean on the rock. His left arm rests on his left thigh, which is slightly raised. He holds the rabdos, a magic wand, bent downward with his left hand. Groundline.

This type of Mercury seated with an arm supporting his leaning body is inspired by a statue by Lysippos of Hermes in repose (*LIMC V* s.v. Hermes no. 961 ff). Hermes is the master of technol-

ogy, trickery, mischief, and magic. The rabdos is an attribute of Hermes already found in Homer. Cf. *AGDS I.3* no. 2294; *AGDS III* Göttingen nos. 173–174; *AGDS IV* nos. 790–791; *Fitzwilliam* no. 263.

Simplified classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 770, 773, small grooves style, 879, chin-mouth-nose style.

- 32.** 0000.999.33934. Amethyst. Cc. $10 \times 8 \times$ (in a modern setting). First to second century AD.

Mercury is seated as on the preceding gem. In his left hand he holds a caduceus horizontally. A rooster stands before him at his feet. Groundline.

See: *AGDS III* Göttingen no. 176; *AGDS IV* no. 1444; *Hague* no. 668 (these three stones also are amethysts); *Lewis* no. 39; *Wien II* no. 1294.

Linear classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 668, 780–781, small grooves style.

- 33.** 0000.999.33839. Chalcedony. Cc4. $11.5 \times 9.5 \times 5.2$. First century AD.

Mercury, seated as in the preceding gems, holds a caduceus horizontally in his left hand. A rooster stands in front of him. There is a turtle behind the rock and a star beneath his right foot. Groundline.

See: *Berlin* no. 2726 (rooster and star).

Modeled classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 496–497, classicizing style; *Fitzwilliam* no. 262.

- 34.** 0000.999.33702. Brown jasper. F1. $12 \times 10 \times 2.3$. Second to third century AD.

Mercury, torso facing front, rides a ram toward the right. He sports a winged cap on his head, which is turned in profile to the right. His right arm, which is wrapped with a chlamys, supports a caduceus. He holds a purse with his left hand. In front of the ram are two ears of wheat. Groundline.

Wheat is another symbol of abundance. See *AGDS III* Göttingen no. 187; *AGDS IV* nos. 793, 1445; *Lewis* no. 40; *Wien II* no. 1314 (with other objects).

Incoherent style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 964, rigid chin-mouth-nose style (head), 982, 998, incoherent style.

35. 0000.999.33832. Nicolo. F4a. $10.3 \times 7.2 \times 3$. Second century AD.

Bonus Eventus stands naked in profile to the left, a chlamys draped from his shoulders. He holds a cluster of grapes in his lowered left hand and a plate of fruit with his raised right hand. Groundline.

Bonus Eventus, a Roman agricultural god personifying the bountiful outcome of the harvest and, by extension, success in all things, was similar to the Greek Agathos Daimon. He is shown in two ways, either naked facing, holding a patera and ears of wheat, or as here in profile holding a variety of objects symbolizing prosperity. The most common are plates of fruit, clusters of grapes, and ears of wheat. See *Aquileia* nos. 546–551; *AGDS IV* no. 919; *Luni* no. 77; *Wien II* nos. 1329–1330. In the East there were many deities of prosperity and good luck. There were fewer in the West, perhaps accounting for the popularity of Bonus Eventus, especially in Gaul. Another important iconographic influence may have been the Genius Populi Romani coin type.

Smooth style. Cf. *Hague* no. 935, plain grooves style.

36. 0000.999.33886. Nicolo. F4a. $12.2 \times 10.5 \times 3$. First to second century AD.

Bonus Eventus stands in profile to the left in front of a leafy vine, a chlamys hanging from his shoulders. He holds two ears of wheat in his lowered left hand and a plate of fruit with his raised right hand. Groundline.

There are symbols of prosperity everywhere, held in his hand and shown in the background. See *Aquileia* nos. 548, 553; *Köln* no. 297; *Wien II* nos. 1322 (ears of wheat and grapes together), 1323 (leafy vine).

Modeled classical style (?).

37. 0000.999.33867. Chestnut-colored molded glass. F1. $13 \times 10.2 \times 2.2$. Osborne (1912: pl XXIII, 5). Second half of the first century BC.

Bacchus, a youth with short hair, sits on a throne with a high back and legs that end with lion paws. His body, which appears

in profile to the left, is partly draped. A beribboned thyrsus is extended obliquely in front of him. A four-legged animal lies at his feet.

The thyrsus indicates that the youth belongs to the world of Dionysus, here likely to be Bacchus. However, Bacchus is rarely shown seated. An almost identical glass paste is *AGDS I.2* no. 1064, first century BC. Related representations: *LIMC* III s.v. Dionysus-Bacchus no. 28 (wall painting at Pompeii) and no. 29 (coin of Corinth). See also *Wien II* no. 1377; *Berlin* no. 1676. Difficult to see because of the imperfect impression in the molded glass is a wine cup (*kantharos*), which the youth appears to hold out in front of him. It is also difficult to identify the animal, but it is probably the traditional panther. This type of throne, or *solium*, usually made of marble (Richter 1966), is frequently used in the representation of various important figures from the middle of the first century BC: *Gaule* no. 88; *Wien I* no. 322; *AGDS IV* no. 447.

Classical linear style.

38. 0000.999.33861. Carnelian. Cb8. $13.8 \times 9.6 \times 4.8$. Osborne (1912: pl. XV, 19). Late first century BC.

Bacchus' head, encircled with a crown of ivy, is shown in profile to the left on a herm with hair parted in rolls on the forehead and a rounded coil at the nape of the neck. Four long curls hang toward the neck.

This hairdo adorns the heads of Apollo and Bacchus, especially during the second half of the first century BC. See *AGDS I.2* nos. 1072–1073; *Wien I* no. 232; *Getty* no. 238 for Bacchus and for Apollo nos. 207 and 356. In all of these examples, the god is shown as a bust, lacking the supporting column of a herm.

Modeled classical style or modern work.

39. 0000.999.33866. Brown glass paste. F5. $13.3 \times 11 \times 2.8$. End of the first century BC.

A satyr steps to his right, holding a pedum upright; an animal's pelt is draped over his right arm. He holds a bunch of grapes with his left hand. A panther or dog, its head raised toward the grapes, stands at his feet. Groundline.

The attitude and attributes of this figure are often seen in representations of satyrs in this period, but the presence of an animal is unusual. See *Aquileia* no. 1082; *Wien II* nos. 1388, 1394.

Between the pellet style and the modeled classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 251–252, Republican extinguishing pellet style.

40. 0000.999.35106. Carnelian. Ca5. $12.5 \times 8.7 \times 3.8$. Second half of the first century BC.

A satyr stands bent forward in profile to the left. A small child rests on the satyr's right foot; he is prevented from falling by the satyr's left hand. The satyr's right hand is raised (usually to hold the other hand of the child which is absent here). Groundline.

A picturesque motif used in the decorative arts. The infant may be Bacchus or a satyr. See *Aquileia* no. 405; *Hague* no. 337; *Xanten* no. 19; *Wien II* no. 1061.

Calligraphic style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 342, 344, 346, Republican wheel style; *Fitzwilliam* nos. 185–186.

41. 0000.999.33863. Carnelian. Ca5. $12.8 \times 8.5 \times 3.1$. Second half of the first century BC (?).

A satyr stands in profile to the left. In his left hand he holds a long object to his lips (an aulos?). A small child with head turned back climbs down his raised thigh.

The theme of a satyr with Bacchus or a child-satyr is poorly developed here: the infant usually sits straddled across the satyr's thigh. See *AGDS I.2* no. 749; *Wien I* no. 473; *Fitzwilliam* no. 289.

Calligraphic style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 278, 335, Republican wheel style.

42. 0000.999.33845. Carnelian. Ca5. $9.8 \times 8 \times 3$. First century AD.

Pan prances left, his bust facing, penis erect and head turned back. A bunch of grapes drops from his raised right hand; a goat prepares to spring for the grapes. Pan holds a pedum with his left hand. Groundline.

Pan is rarely seen on intaglios. His attitude, actions, and attributes are similar to those of satyrs. Typically he holds a syrinx, his most common attribute. See *Dalmatia* no. 103; *Aquileia* no. 422;

AGDS I.3 no. 2593; *Wien II* nos. 1406 (without a goat), 1407; Jerusalem no. 75; Gadara no. 244 (without the goat, and with patera and branch).

Linear classical style. Cf. *Hague* no. 745, small grooves style.

43. 0000.999.33812. Veined jasper, with flecks of gray, black, and white. Cc4. 16.2 × 12 × 4.1. Osborne (1912: pl. xv, 17). First to second century AD.

The adolescent Harpocrates stands facing, naked. A chlamys slips from his right arm, which holds a cornucopia. His left index finger is pressed against his lips. He wears a composite crown, possibly the *pschent*. Groundline.

This is the Hellenized version of the Egyptian god, whose image spread throughout the empire mainly for private worship. See *AGDS I.3* no. 2677; *Hague* no. 501; *Xanten* no. 190; *Wien I* no. 455; *Wien II* nos. 1364–1368; *Getty* no. 277. Harpocrates' head sometimes is shown in profile, sometimes with the left elbow leaning on a small column. The iconography is illustrated in numerous representations on Roman coins of Alexandria, terracotta statuettes, and lamps, as well as bronzes: *LIMC* IV s.v. Harpocrates nos. 34 (coins), 31 (lamps), 40 (terracotta statuettes), 41 (bronze statues). Modeled classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 473, 482, 501, classicizing style.

44. 0000.999.33941. Red jasper. F1. 12.5 × 9.8 × 3.8. Second century AD.

A standing figure is shown naked, his mature body facing, his head in profile to the left and wearing a *hemhem* crown. His raised left hand leans against a tall stick. His lowered right hand holds a vase. Groundline.

The identification of this figure is uncertain. The *hemhem* crown is worn by Harpocrates (*LIMC* IV s.v. Harpocrates nos. 134, 148b, 188a); as a child the god is often shown in terracotta statuettes holding a vase (*LIMC* no. 134) but not a staff. The adolescent Harpocrates appears with a spherical object (a pomegranate?) and a small branch on tetradrachms of Gallienus to Diocletian from Alexandria (*LIMC* no. 357) and on intaglios (*Lewis* no.

126). Alternatively the figure might represent Dionysus-Osiris (see *LIMC* VII s.v. Osiris, p. 116). In *AGDS III* no. 57, the god holds a kantharos in one hand and a staff with the other. He also wears a tripartite headgear that might be meant to be a *hemhem* crown. Smooth style.

45. 1944.100.83573. Red jasper. F2. $10.7 \times 7.7 \times 2.3$. Second to third century AD.

Mithras wearing a Phrygian cap rides a prancing horse in profile to the left. An altar with a pointed flame stands in front of the horse, and a tree stands behind. Groundline.

Representations of Mithras on engraved gems are rare: he is shown either as a bust of a young man wearing a Phrygian cap or, less frequently, slaying the bull. The device of Mithras as cavalier, close to the image of the Thracian horseman, appears on Roman provincial coins of Trebizond during the first part of the third century. See *LIMC* VI s.v. Mithras nos. 308–313 (various coins), no. 311 (cavalier with altar and tree, dating from the middle of the third century); intaglios: *Berlin* no. 2935; *AGDS III* Braunschweig no. 80, Kassel no. 209.

46. 1944.100.83572. Red jasper. F4a. $14.2 \times 10.9 \times 2.5$. Third to fourth century AD.

Mithras. Similar to the preceding gem. The horseman is wearing a pileus, not a Phrygian cap, and raises his left arm in a gesture characteristic of imperial cavaliers. There is a six-pointed star above the altar. See *LIMC* IV s.v. Mithras no. 313, cavalier with tree, altar, and star on a coin of Gordian III.

47. 0000.999.33864. Red jasper. Octagonal. F2. $15.5 \times 13 \times 5.2$. Second century AD.

A draped bust with a bearded head wearing a Phrygian cap is shown in profile to the left. Inscription **ME** to the right behind the head; **APH** in front of the head to the left; and **C** below the bust.

Identification is uncertain. The god Men would have a crescent moon placed with points upward behind his shoulders. As a rule,

Men is shown as a youth without a beard (*LIMC* VI s.v. Men nos. 8, 19), as are Mithras, Attis, and Perseus. The beard may indicate Priam or Aeneas, but they are rarely depicted alone (*LIMC* VII s.v. Priamos no. 1; *LIMC* I s.v. Aineias no. 5). An unidentified parallel image is *AGDS I.2* no. 1057.

48. 0000.999.33892. Carnelian. Ca5. $18.2 \times 15 \times 4$. Second century AD.

The Dioscuri. Two naked youths; a chlamys passes behind them, rolled over their arms. They stand on a groundline, facing symmetrically, heads turned toward each other. Each twin leans on a lance placed toward the center of the device. Above each head is a six-pointed star.

The twin heroes are easily recognized by the stars and lances. Cf. *Aquileia* nos. 491–493; *AGDS IV* no. 1550; *Xanten* no. 193.

Smooth style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 882, 888 (head) cap-with-rim style.

49. 0000.999.35107. Sardonyx, orange, white, and brown. Cc3. $14.5 \times 12 \times 5.8$. First to second century AD.

A Genius is shown as a partially dressed youth standing and facing. He carries a cornucopia against his right arm under which a chlamys is draped. He holds a patera in his left hand. Beneath the patera is an altar with burning incense. Groundline.

A Genius is represented in the same way, whether for personal or public use. It is only possible to determine his significance by inscription, provenance, or place. On intaglios and other personal objects, the Genius can have the appearance of a public image, for example as the Genius Populi Romani. Variations occurs with and without the altar: *AGDS I.3* nos. 2311, 2691–2692; *Wien II* nos. 1334–1335.

50. 0000.999.33889. Carnelian. F1. $18.5 \times 15 \times 4$. Small chips in the lower part of the stone. Second to third century AD.

On the left, Aesculapius stands facing, wearing a loose himation around his legs, his head turned toward the center. His left hand rests against a short rod around which a serpent winds. On the right Hygieia stands facing, dressed in chiton and himation, her head turned toward the center. She holds a patera in her right

hand. A serpent winds around her lowered left hand, its head appearing below the patera. The two gods are placed upon a tall quadrilateral base, suggesting that the figures are meant to be statues.

Aesculapius is commonly associated with Hygieia. The presence of the imposing base is unusual. See (without a base) *Aquileia* nos. 509–510; *AGDS I.3* no. 2596; *Hague* nos. 664, 848; *Wien I* no. 205 signed by the engraver Heius; *Wien II* no. 1200.

Simplified classical style. Cf. *Hague* no. 815, round-head style, 952, plain grooves style.

51. 0000.999.33846. Carnelian. Cb4. $14 \times 12.5 \times 4.4$. Osborne (1912: pl. XXIV, 19). Second to third century AD.

Aesculapius and Hygieia as on the preceding gem, but the deities stand on a simple groundline.

Classical linear style. Cf. *Hague* no. 664, small grooves style.

52. 0000.999.36781. Carnelian. C4a. $14.5 \times 7.0 \times 2.0$. Second to third century AD.

Ganymede and the eagle. A naked youth shown seated on a rock in profile to the left, a pedom behind him. He offers a phiale for the eagle to drink. The eagle faces Ganymede, his wings spread upward; he stands on one foot, the other is upraised to grasp Ganymede's thigh.

Ganymede, a Trojan prince and a shepherd (hence the pedom), was carried off by an eagle sent by Jupiter who was charmed by the boy's beauty. In the Roman period, the motif of the prince providing the bird with drink, an action that anticipates Ganymede's ultimate office on Mount Olympus as cupbearer of the gods, is often shown in two ways. In one, Ganymede stands (*LIMC* IV s.v. Ganymedes nos. 108–114 [mosaics, gems], 115–137 [small statues]). The eagle is placed on a column, a tree, or the ground. In the other, Ganymede is seated (*LIMC* IV s.v. Ganymedes nos. 138ff, 144–164); also see *Aquileia* no. 44; *Gaule* no. 451. See Sichtermann (1953).

Incoherent style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 1053–1054, incoherent grooves style.

53. 0000.999.33828. Nicolo. F4. 11.8 × 10 × 3.4. Second to third century AD.

Ganymede stands partly to the left wearing a Phrygian cap, a chlamys draped down his back. In his right hand he holds a vase. Groundline.

The Phrygian cap and the pedum would indicate Paris, but the presence of a vase (*skyphos*) indicates Ganymede. An identical figure occurs with the drinking eagle (*Getty* no. 427). Since the eagle is absent, however, perhaps the Ganymede shown here is already on Olympus ministering to the gods (a motif that occurs on Attic vases of the fifth century B.C.: *LIMC* IV s.v. Ganymedes nos. 59–68). For the motif of Ganymede alone, see *LIMC* s.v. Ganymedes nos. 3, 4 (*Aquileia* no. 45); *Gaule* no. 452.

Modeled classical style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 536, 555, 600, classicizing style.

54. 0000.999.36800. Banded agate. C4c. 13.0 × 12 × 6. First to second century AD.

The crowned head of Hercules in profile to the left. His hair is short, his brow furrowed, and his neck thick-set.

On intaglios as on coins, Hercules appears either as a young man without a beard and with curly hair or as a mature man, bearded and with hair cropped. Often the pelt of a lion is tied around his neck or worn on his head. Following Alexander the Great certain emperors, particularly Commodus, favored Hercules as a device on coins (Speidel 1993). For the young head: *LIMC* IV s.v. Herakles nos. 126–164, coins of the fifth century BC to second century AD; *Wien II* no. 661. For the mature head: *LIMC* nos. 191–206, from the third century BC to the third century AD; *Wien II* no. 664 (with club behind the head); *AGDS* IV no. 190; *Fitzwilliam* no. 199–200. Classical linear style.

55. 0000.999.36636. Carnelian. F1. 22.0 × 9 × 1.5. Second century AD.

Hercules stands facing, head turned to the left. He carries a club at an oblique angle over his left arm, which is separated from his chest. A lion's pelt hangs from his right arm. He holds something (apples?) in his right hand. Groundline.

This representation of Hercules, which occurs during the Imperial period in many artistic forms, was inspired by fourth-century BC statuary (*LIMC* IV s.v. Herakles pp. 745–747, diverse variants, for example, Hercules with bow and arrow or apples in his left hand; on coins, no. 285 at the beginning of the third century; terra sigillata, no. 314). On gems, *AGDS IV* no. 1545; *Fitzwilliam* no. 335. Smooth style. Cf. *Aquileia*, Officina dei Dioscuri, pl. XCII (round the head style), nos. 943, 950, 956 (plain grooves style).

56. 0000.999.35204. Carnelian. F5. 13.5 × 11.5 × 3. Chipped in the lower left part of the stone. First century BC.

Hercules mingens. The hero stands in profile to the left, leaning forward with legs spread apart, urinating. A lion's pelt hangs down his back, the club rests on his right shoulder. Groundline.

The image of the drunk Hercules is known from the second century BC; it appears on gems, small statues in bronze or marble, in the decorative arts, and even in fountains. Intaglios: *AGDS IV* nos. 306–308; *Getty* no. 349.

Imitation of the pellet style. Cf. *Hague* nos. 165, 171, Italic-republican blob style, 225, Italic-republican pellet style; *Fitzwilliam* nos. 147–149.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR THE CATALOGUE

AGDS I = Brandt, E., A. Krug, and E. Schmidt. 1968–1972. *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen I: staatliche Münzesammlung, München*. München: Franz Steiner Verlag.

AGDS III = Scherf, V., P. Gercke, and P. Zazoff. 1970. *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen III: Braunschweig, Göttingen, Kassel*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

AGDS IV = Schlüter, M., G. Platz-Horster, and P. Zazoff. 1975. *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen IV: Hannover, Kestner-Museum; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Aquileia = Sena Chiesa 1966.

Berlin = Furtwängler, A. 1896. *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*. Berlin: W. Spemann.

- Bonn* = Platz-Horster, G. 1984. *Die antiken Gemmen im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn*. Köln: Rheinland-Verlag.
- Dalmatia* = Middleton, S. H. 1991. *Engraved gems from Dalmatia*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- DL* = Vollenweider, M.-L. 1984. *Deliciae leonis: antike geschnittene Steine und Ringe aus einer Privatsammlung*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Fitzwilliam* = Henig 1994.
- Gadara* = Henig, M. and M. Whiting. 1987. *Engraved gems from Gadara in Jordan: the Sa'd collection of intaglios and cameos*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Gaule* = Guiraud 1988.
- Getty* = Spier, J. 1992. *Ancient gems and finger rings: catalogue of the collections*. Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Hague* = Maaskant-Kleibrink 1978.
- Jerusalem* = Amoraï-Stark, S. 1993. *Engraved gems and seals from two collections in Jerusalem*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press.
- Köln* = Krug, A. 1980. *Antike Gemmen im römisch-germanischen Museum Köln*. Sonderdruck aus Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 61. Frankfurt: Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
- Lewis* = Henig, M. 1975. *The Lewis collection of engraved gemstones in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*. BAR Supplementary Series 1. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- LIMC* = LIMC 1981–1997. *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*. Zürich: Artemis Verlag.
- Luni* = Sena Chiesa, G. 1978. *Gemme di Luni*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- Wien II* = Zwierlein-Diehl 1979.

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- . 1979. *Die antiken Gemmen des kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien, Band II: die Gemmen der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit*. München: Prestel Verlag.

Plate 4



Engraved Gems with Gods and Heroes



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Plate 6



Engraved Gems with Gods and Heroes



Sixth-Century Tremissis



Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society IV: Ancient Magical Amulets, an Addendum

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Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society IV: Ancient Magical Amulets, an Addendum

PLATE 5

JAMES H. SCHWARTZ[†]

Presented here, as a supplement to an earlier article on ancient magical amulets at the American Numismatic Society, is a small group of amulets, most or all from the collection of E. T. Newell, whose presence was not known at the time of the earlier article. Discussion of this unanticipated find raises the question of the disposition of Newell's collection of ancient gems.

During the preparation for moving the American Numismatic Society from its building on Audubon Terrace to its new headquarters on William Street, a hoard of nine ancient magical amulets was found hidden in the Greek vault. The gems were precisely fitted into a tawny yellow plush, side by side with their impressions in hard red sealing wax, all packaged in a sturdy brown cardboard box measuring 190 × 90 × 20 mm, with no cover. Since six of the amulets had been published by Bonner (1950: 252) and there attributed to Edward T. Newell, it seems likely that all nine were his.

Considered the preeminent American numismatist of his time, Newell came to the Society from Yale University in 1905, at the age of 19; by 1916 he had become president of the Society, and he remained president until his death in 1941. Though he concentrated primarily on ancient Greek coins, he also had a large personal collection of engraved gems and cylinder seals. In addition to his ancient gems, which he kept in trays, each in an individual museum box, Newell occasionally left an intaglio with a coin, for comparison of the reverse type. The significance of the specially fitted box containing the nine amulets is difficult to determine,

and its obscure location when found does not give any obvious clue. The purpose of this article is to catalogue the three unpublished specimens among the newly found magical amulets, adding them to the gems published previously (Schwartz and Schwartz 1979; Bonner 1950).

Except for the opportunity to guess at the intent for constructing this hoard, examination of these gems does not provide any new or exceptional information about ancient glyptics or magical practice. None of the nine amulets is more interesting than others from Newell's collection. Nevertheless, for completeness and for some insights into Newell's collecting, the following catalogue is provided.

CATALOGUE

Bonner numbered Newell's magical amulets arbitrarily (1950: 252), the highest number published being 57, of which he selected 47 to publish (Table 1). The ANS accession number is given first. The amulets are described as an observer would see them, because it is now universally recognized that these amulets were meant to be viewed directly and not in the impression. Measurements are in millimeters, first the long axis and then the short, followed by the thickness. Standard designations of the shapes (e.g., Spier 1992) are also provided. All are flat (F), with one side larger than the other. The larger side of the stone, which typically is the more important and often the better engraved, is designated as a, and the smaller side, b.

A. The unpublished amulets

1. 0000.999.53104

Red green-flecked hematite. $16 \times 13 \times 3.5$. F1.

a: Cock-headed, snake-legged figure (anguipede), head left, wearing military kilt and holding a whip upright with his right hand, and a shield on his left arm. Inscribed on shield: IA Ω

b: IAΩ

2. 0000.999.53107

Hematite. $19 \times 14 \times 4$. F1.

a. Anguipede in full Roman army dress, head turned left, holding whip upright with his right hand and with a shield with a large central boss on his left arm. An eight-pointed star above a crescent moon with points upward is in the field between his right elbow and the head of the snake at the end of his right leg.

3. 0000.999.53106

Green jasper. $13 \times 10.5 \times 2.5$. F1.

a. Anguipede, head turned left, in full military dress, holding a whip in his right hand and a shield on his left arm. Prominently below the snake legs: ABPACAΞ

B. The amulets published in Bonner (1950)

Bonner's Newell numbers and Bonner's numbers are both provided.

4. 0000.999.53105. Newell 3; Bonner 53. a: Anguipede; b: Athena.
5. 0000.999.53110. Newell 36; Bonner 169. a: Anguipede; b: magical signs.
6. 0000.999.53114. Newell 5; Bonner 232. a: Lion-headed god; b: inscription.
7. 0000.999.53112. Newell 14; Bonner 88. a: Chnoubis serpent; b: inscription.
8. 0000.999.53113. Newell 2; Bonner 87. a: Chnoubis serpent.
9. 0000.999.53115. Newell 19; Bonner 268. a: ΦΥΛΑ (protect!) in tabula ansata; b: ABPACA

COMMENTARY

Five gems in the hoard are engraved with the figure of the anguipede. The iconography of the cock-headed, snake-legged creature holding a whip and shield and outfitted with the military armor of a Roman emperor has been discussed previously (see Bonner 1950; Schwartz and Schwartz 1979; Michel 2002; *LIMC* s.v. "anguiped"). It is generally agreed that the figure does not represent the Hebrew God Iao, the name typically engraved on his shield, nor is he the Gnostic demiurge Abraxas, a name isopsephically equivalent to 365, the annual period of the sun. No known anguipede ever appears on authentically ancient objects other than magical amulets, which, in addition to the usual gemstones used for engraving in antiquity, also include ringstone-size casts in lead and glass. An exceptional bronze listed in *LIMC* (Abraxas 1) shows the anguipede holding a whip in his left hand with the shield on his right arm (reversed), but it is almost certainly modern. Thus, since the anguipede appears only in the context of the amulets, which tend to be rigidly stereotypic, it seems likely that no additional evidence about his meaning will be forthcoming from the amulets themselves.

Recently, it has been suggested (Darnell 2004: 387–390) that the anguipede is derived from a gigantic figure over the door in Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff and Rambova 1954: 437 pl. 182). This figure, with a disk for a head and legs terminating in serpents, is there to protect the dead king from hostile demons. When considered with other, similar protective tomb images (*Schutzbilder*), Darnell (2004: 231–275, 374–424) proposed that Re-Osiris or Re-Horakhty-Atum, the lord of the eastern horizon, is depicted, with the sun disk above in the heavens, and the snake feet below in the netherworld. In the image of the anguipede, the sun disk would be replaced by the rooster's head (and possibly also by the shield). Alternatively (or perhaps in addition), the anguipede may be a complex ideogram compounded of discrete visual puns, something like

Renaissance *devices*. Even though his precise meaning may never be revealed, one can suggest that the image represents a titanic power (snake legs), herald of the morning (cock), lord of the sun (whip), with the strength of both Yaveh (shield) and a Roman emperor (armor)—a warrior to protect against all evil.

Two questions arise from the study of this small hoard of nine gems: first, is Newell's collection of magical amulets now completely accounted for, or can we expect to find additional specimens? And second, why were these nine here found packaged together in a cardboard box, along with their impressions in red sealing wax?

NEWELL'S COLLECTION

Newell was a prodigious collector: his personal collection of ancient coins numbered approximately 60,000 Greek, 23,000 Roman, and 2,000 Byzantine (Adelson 1958: 272). In his will, dated 20 February 1936, he bequeathed all but one thousand of them to the ANS, requesting that his wife and sole executor, Adra M. Newell, retain one thousand coins of her own choosing (Last Will and Testament, E. T. Newell, 20 February 1936, ANS archives). Mrs. Newell also was a numismatist; she was given her own office and the title of honorary curator at the Society. When she died in 1966, her entire collection of coins was left to the Society. Copies of both wills are archived at the Society.

Newell already had a substantial collection of magical amulets in 1930, the year that Campbell Bonner first wrote to him, asking to examine the amulets for publication (letter, Bonner to Newell, 25 January 1930, ANS archives). This correspondence, consisting of eighteen letters of Bonner's and seven of Newell's, lasted until September 1934. It mainly discusses arrangements for shipping small groups (no more than a dozen at a time) of Newell's amulets to Ann Arbor for examination, casting, and photography. The gems were shipped by registered mail. An interesting feature of these arrangements is that the gems could be shipped whenever Newell wished. As he wrote to Bonner on 12 June 1930, "as these objects are all part of my own private collection I am only too glad to send them to you for inspection. It is only material actually belonging to the Society that we have to have a special permission granted by the Council in full session before we can allow anything out of the building" (letter, Newell to Bonner, 12 June 1930, ANS archives).

Although Newell bequeathed his "Babylonian and Assyrian" clay cuneiform tablets to Yale University's Babylonian Collection, his will is less clear about the intended disposition of his personal collection of engraved gems and cylinder seals. My reading of Article IV of his will is that the gems and seals should have been regarded as one collection together with the coins, of which Mrs. Newell would have been entitled to only one thousand pieces. However, after Newell's death in 1941, Adra Newell, in addition to the coins, claimed for herself "all of the collection of approximately 650 Babylonian, Hittite, Sassanian, and other cylinders, seals, and tablets of hematite, jasper, lapis, carnelian, agate, and other hard stones, each with incised heliographic and cuniform inscriptions" (letter of receipt, Adra M. Newell,

N. Y. Suffolk County Surrogate's Court No. 96 P 1941, 15 September 1941, ANS archives). This included the collection of 695 oriental seals catalogued and published in 1932 by von der Osten (1934). But the magical amulets are not so easily identified. Mrs. Newell's letter continues, making claim to "all of the collection of 50 engraved lapis, carnelian, agate, and other stones and glass seals, cameos, etc. (in white box marked "Engraved" and cameo stones selected by Mrs. Newell for herself)".

The letter of release filed with the Surrogate's Court from Herbert E. Ives, then president of the ANS (letter of receipt, release, and waiver, Herbert E. Ives, N. Y. Suffolk County Surrogate's Court No. 96 P 1941, 12 May 1944, ANS archives), claimed a "small lot of approximately 200 Greco-Roman miniature intaglios, carved semi-precious stones and seals" for the Society. Whether or not the magical amulets were part of this group or were considered Mrs. Newell's may not be of any importance, since during her lifetime the gems would have been housed at the Society along with her thousand coins.

Can the disposition of Newell's magical amulets now be determined? In her will (Last Will and Testament, Adra M. Newell, 10 August 1953, ANS archives), Adra Newell bequeathed to Yale University "my collection of Greek and other antiquities, including twelve (12) Tanagra heads (formerly from the di Cesnola collection), plus additional Tanagra type heads, plus about one hundred more or less Greek, Greco-Roman and Egyptian seal-rings and unset seals, plus a small fine alabaster head of Aesculapios or Zeus plus several other heads". She also bequeathed to Yale "my collection of Sumerian, Babylonian and Sassanian seals, cylinders and stamp seals and large limestone foundation inscribed cone style cylinders". To her sister Edythe Nelson Marshall, she left "the ancient Greek gold jewelry owned by me, consisting of about twenty five pieces; the Greek gold amulets and the few rings in gold; also about fifty choice seals."

Adra Newell died on 1 September 1966. The important collection of Near Eastern seals did go to Yale's Babylonian Collection (Buchanan 1981). Although 226 of Newell's engraved gems are now at the Society, the Society's letters of receipt, release, and waiver of citation to the Surrogate's Court list no intaglios, engraved gems, or cylinder seals taken for the Society's collection (letter of receipt, agreement, indemnity, and refunding, George C. Miles, N. Y. Suffolk County Surrogate's Court No. 1314 P 1966, 30 March 1967, ANS archives; letter of receipt, release, and waiver, George C. Miles, N. Y. Suffolk County Surrogate's Court No. 1314 P 1966, 16 June 1967, ANS archives).

In 1950, Bonner published forty-seven of Newell's magical amulets (Table 1). He acknowledged Newell's earlier help in making his collection available for study and publication, as well as the help of Adra Newell, who had made items from her husband's collection available for re-examination when needed. Presuming that Bonner included all of Newell's amulets in his count of fifty-seven, and considering that thirty-two of these are known to be at the ANS, we can calcu-

Table 1. Reconstruction of Newell’s Collection of Ancient Magical Amulets

Gems now present at the ANS	
A. With Bonner’s Newell numbers ^a	
1. Published in 1979 ^b	26
2. This hoard	6
B. Without Newell numbers	
1. Published in 1979	
a. Labeled ANS/ETN ^c	12
b. Labeled ANS ^d	11
2. This article (previously unpublished)	3
Gems not present at the ANS	
A. Published in 1950 ^e	15
B. Presumed to exist ^f	10

a. Bonner (1950) states that he numbered Newell’s amulets in an arbitrary way. Since gem 57 had the highest number of those published in Bonner (1950), there must have been at least 57 specimens in Newell’s collection.

b. Schwartz and Schwartz (1979). These were labeled ANS/ETN, followed by a Bonner number.

c. Some of these gems probably belonged to Newell, since several of their display boxes were labeled with his name or initials. These were labeled ANS/ETN without a Bonner number in Schwartz and Schwartz (1979).

d. These are gems published in 1979 without any indication of provenance.

e. These amulets were published by Bonner (1950) with Newell numbers.

f. Assuming that Newell’s collection had at least 57 specimens, 10 are missing (and not identifiable), since only 47 were published in Bonner (1950). Some or all of these might be included in the 26 gems that were not published by Bonner but are present at the ANS (see note c above).

late that the whereabouts of twenty-five are not accounted for. Of these, fifteen can be identified, since Bonner (1950) published them (Table 2). Some of the remaining ten may be included with the ANS gems that are not specifically labeled as having belonged to Newell (designated simply as ANS in Schwartz and Schwartz 1979; see Table 1).

Were any amulets left at the Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, where Bonner was professor from 1907 to 1947 and professor emeritus until his death in 1954? Bonner’s extensive personal collection of 405 magical amulets was obtained by Dr. Fredrick A. Coller, who donated it to the Taubman Medical Library of the University of Michigan (published online at <http://www.lib.umich.edu/taubman/amulets/amtitle.html>). A substantial collection of magical amulets is also held by the Kelsey Museum, a selection of which is also shown on the internet as Traditions of Ancient Magic (a selection of this collection is published online at <http://www.lib.umich.edu/pap/magic/>). Neither collection contains any of the Newell gems.

Table 2. Amulets missing from the ANS collection

Bonner SMA No.	Newell No.	Description	Material
385	7	Two women holding vase	Red jasper
189	15	Harpocrates on lotus	Painting under glass
179 ^a	20	Three figures: snake, standing man, anguipede / inscription	Serpentine or steatite
156 ^a	21	Isis-Hekate / inscription	Limonite or iron shale
202	31	Harpocrates on lotus / inscription	Hematite
346 ^b	40	Jonah cast from boat being swallowed by monster / anguipede	Schist
316	41	Rider saint (?) / inscription	Bronze
313	47	Rider saint / inscription	Bronze
315	48	Ass-headed human and lion, rider saint / inscription	Bronze
298	49	Rider saint / inscription, eye	Bronze
318	51	Rider saint / cross with human head	Bronze
248	52	Ape riding lion, scarab above / signs	Chert
339	53	Male figure standing, erect snake to left / inscription	Limonite
82	55	Ibis, altar / Chnoubis serpent	Serpentine
331	56	Christ Pantocrator / Theotokos or female saint	Bronze

a. Now present in the Babylonian Collection at Yale.

b. Destroyed.

The fifteen missing amulets form an eccentric group. Only five (Bonner 1950: nos. 82, 189, 202, 248, 385) belong to the group of magical amulets dating from the second to third centuries that could properly be regarded as “Greco-Egyptian”, the rest being early Byzantine. Except for the shared image of a rider spearing an enemy, the five bronze “Rider Saints” in this group are separated from so-called Solomon amulets by at least a century and probably originate primarily from Syria and Palestine rather than from Egypt, and the bronze with Christ Pantocrator has no earlier parallel. Three (Bonner 1950: nos. 156, 179, 346) are closely related to a group of late Syrian or Palestinian limonite amulets with Semitic inscriptions thought to date from the fifth century (see lot no. 300, Frank Sternberg, Zurich,

Auction XXII, 20 November 1989). The amulet showing Isis-Hekate (Bonner 1950: no. 156) seems to belong to this group even though the inscription is in Greek letters. As for No. 346, Bonner placed it under "Palestinian-Christian" even though it is engraved with an anguipede. (After his lengthy description of this gem, Bonner wrote that he was working with a plasticine impression, since the original had recently been destroyed.)

Where then are the missing fourteen? Yale was a likely place to look: the "Syro-Palestinian" group may possibly have been included with Adra Newell's 1966 bequest. In fact, two of the amulets (Bonner 1950: nos. 156 and 179) are presently in the Babylonian Collection, but the remaining twelve are not.

THE NINE-GEM HOARD

Why were our nine amulets packaged together? And why were they hidden and separate from the Society's other engraved gems? We may never know. Nevertheless, several features of the hoard prompt a guess. None of Newell's other engraved gems, either classical or magical, were grouped together as a unit. All of them were kept either individually or as a very small collection grouped together with a Roman provincial coin with a similar reverse. Some of the classical intaglios were boxed with their plaster casts, none in wax and none fitted precisely into plush. As mentioned above, magical amulets were meant to be viewed directly, not in the impression. Yet red sealing wax was used to make impressions that were then glued down next to the grooves in the box made for the stones themselves. In any case, making casts in plaster was the usual but not exclusive museum practice for at least a century before Newell's death (Boardman 1970: 448–449; 2001: 469; Zazoff and Zazoff 1983: 194)¹ as well as for the amulets illustrated in Bonner (1950). Plaster casts of all of the amulets used for the plates are now in Ann Arbor (e-mail, 15 June 2004, from Robin Meador-Woodruff, curator at the Kelsey Museum). In

1. With the advent of photography, major collections of engraved gems were published as photographs of plaster casts (see Smith 1888; Furtwängler 1896, 1900; de Ridder 1911; Beazley 1920; Richter 1920). Sealing wax was used occasionally for rapid impression, but wax is easily chipped and cracked. Nevil Storey-Maskelyne, professor of mineralogy at Oxford and keeper of minerals at the British Museum, made many sealing wax impressions of gems in the major European collections in order to produce electrotypes. His collection of excellent electrotypes of some 2,200 ancient gems are now at the Beazley Archive in Oxford (Boardman 2002). Glass paste and porcelain reproductions were extremely popular during the second half of the eighteenth century (Gray 1894). James Tassie (1735–1799) produced more than 15,000 copies in glass paste that were sold by catalogue at least until the 1830s. In addition, he supplied Josiah Wedgwood with designs for copies in porcelain. Among his noteworthy customers was Catherine the Great of Russia, who wanted reproductions for comparison with her extraordinary collection of engraved gems (Reinach 1895: 130–145; Kagan and Nemerov 2000). Tassie reproduced a gem by first making a plaster or sulfur mold, which then was cast in durable white glass paste and edged with a stiff fabric collar (Holloway 1980). Other dealers sold similarly edged plaster casts.

addition to plaster (letters to Newell of 13 March, 21 April, 27 April, and 21 June 1934), Bonner mentions impressions in plasticine (letter to Newell, 28 May 1930) and, obliquely, impressions in wax (letter to Newell, 9 July 1934): "One of the bronze amulets is much too corroded to subject to pressure, and the quite large, thin, soft steatite or schist is in my judgement not safe to press into tough wax". Dr. Meador-Woodruff writes that there are some sealing-wax impressions at the Kelsey, but it is difficult to tell which were provided to Bonner by dealers in an attempt to sell the seals and which ones Bonner might have made for himself for study purposes (e-mail, 15 June 2004). At present, the ANS has drawers full of plaster casts of coins that Newell made for many of his publications. Why would he make impressions in wax? Impressions in wax are easy to make and fairly accurate, but are brittle and damage easily (several of the wax impressions of the amulets are broken and chipped).

One possible explanation for this hoard and its exceptional presentation is that the nine boxed magical amulets had been offered as a group to Newell by a dealer but after purchase were never unpacked. Weakening this theory is the fact that Bonner's Newell numbers for the gems he published are not sequential (Bonner 1950, nos. 2, 3, 5, 14, 19, 36), which also is evidence against the argument that this is a batch of amulets returned to Newell with wax impressions made by Bonner. Another explanation is that this selection was prepared by Newell himself to show to a group of gem collectors just before he died of a heart attack in 1941. As a result, the amulets would not have been restored to their places with the rest of his collection. (Notes included with some of Newell's classical intaglios indicate that he did meet with other gem collectors periodically.) Finally, perhaps the box was set up as a potent charm: it might be argued that the ensemble of five anguipedes (against all evil), two Chnoubis (against digestive and cardiac disorders), together with a lion-headed god (probably thought of as Yaveh) and a stone with the inscription commanding "Protect!" might be particularly effective! However, Newell could have put together a group with considerably stronger magic from his collection.

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